

A GROUP OF PROVINCIAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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*This article is dedicated
to my Father, F. Joachim Weyl*

INTRODUCTION

An important feature of Byzantine art in the later twelfth century is its extensive productivity in the provinces.¹ This phenomenon has long been recognized in wall painting; the present paper will suggest that it occurred in miniature painting as well. The provincial manuscripts of the twelfth century are particularly interesting, both because of their large number and because a majority of them belongs to a single group whose shared qualities are hard to explain in terms of the Constantinopolitan tradition as we now understand it.²

This major group, which consists of some eighty-five illuminated books, has coalesced around the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, now Chicago, University Library, 965 (cat. 4), a lavishly if not particularly handsomely illuminated volume of the Greek New Testament that once included also a Psalter.³ A conjunction of stylistic, iconographic,

decorative, paleographic, and textual features first recognized in the Chicago manuscript and its immediate relatives turns out to characterize a far larger circle of codices, many of which are of considerably higher quality than the Chicago New Testament itself.⁴ Textually, the books are preeminently Gospel Books, New Testaments, and Psalters; their liturgical equipment is haphazard and service books are few. Paleographically, the volumes share their black ink, florid ductus, and highly variegated minuscule forms, heavily interspersed with uncials. Artistically, too, the books are florid. Ornament is extravagant, with flamboyant, irregularly shaped Canon Tables, and carpet headpieces filled with exuberant vine-scroll interlace. The iconography is rich. Evangelist portraits are the most frequent images, but many books also contain remarkably extensive illustrative or frontispiece cycles. Stylistic factors uniting the group can be seen by comparing two of its Evangelist portraits, one from the immediate circle of the Chicago New Testament and one of rather higher quality (figs. 3, 4). Distinctive here are the ornamental, pastel color schemes emphasizing pink, purple, green, and blue, and the decorative compositions with their strongly profiled figures and flattened settings. The decorative style of the miniatures echoes the decorative

¹This is an expansion of a paper given during the 1978 Dumbarton Oaks Symposium. I am indebted for research time on this topic to the American Association for University Women, the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, and the American Council of Learned Societies. I owe personal thanks to many individuals who have helped and encouraged my work. I should like to express my particular gratitude to my advisers, Professor Hugo Buchthal and Professor Ilene Forsyth, whose generosity, patience, and insight have been invaluable, and to Professor Kurt Weitzmann for his continuing interest and his help with photographs.

²Cf. H. Buchthal, "Stylistic Trends in Byzantine Illumination in the Twelfth Century," presented at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., on 11 May 1978; and R. Nelson, "Text and Image in a Byzantine Gospel Book in Istanbul (Ecumenical Patriarchate, cod. 3)" (Ph.D. diss., Inst. of Fine Arts, New York Univ., 1978).

³The major work on the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament remains E. J. Goodspeed, D. W. Riddle, and H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1932). The first volume contains facsimiles of all illuminated pages. For the manuscript's extensive bibliography, see my catalogue entry 4.

⁴Particularly helpful discussions of the group include: R. Hamann-Mac Lean, "Der Berliner Codex Graecus Quarto 66 und seine nächste Verwandten als Beispiele des Stilwandels im frühen 13. Jahrhundert," *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters*, Festschrift Hermann Usener (Marburg, 1967), 225–50; H. Buchthal, "An Unknown Byzantine Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century," *Connoisseur*, 115 (1964), 217–24; *Byzantine Art, an European Art*, Zappeion Exhibition Hall, Athens, 1964 (exhibition catalogue); E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, II (Chicago, 1936), 4.

extravagance of the ornament and the floridity of the script.

When this group was first distinguished in the early 1930s, it comprised some thirteen members, all closely akin to the Chicago New Testament in style and quality.⁵ It was ascribed to a single workshop, and this was presumed—on the basis of the group's considerable size—to have been an imperial workshop. Paleographic comparison of the books' diminutive black minuscule script with that of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 117 (dated by a colophon of 1262),⁶ and Coislin gr. 200 (fig. 1; cat. 21; inscribed with an *ex libris* of Michael VIII Palaeologus),⁷ suggested that the imperial workshop in question was Michael's new and struggling palace scriptorium of the period just after 1261.

Paleographically and iconographically plausible, this attribution very quickly runs into trouble on the stylistic front. Even provincial works of the early Palaeologan period like the frescoes at Manastir (1271)⁸ or the illuminations of codex Mt. Sinai, 61 (1274)⁹ use forms with a plump solidity that contrasts fundamentally with the relief-like linearism of the Chicago group. The elegant Evangelists of Paris, gr. 117,¹⁰ strikingly similar to their monumental contemporaries in Hagia Sophia, Trebizond,¹¹ have very little to do with the decorative style of the Chicago group. Coislin 200 is stylistically akin to the Chicago group, but cannot be associated in any concrete way with the 1260s: its presumed *ex libris* of Michael VIII is probably a forgery by a Western hand.¹² Though surely extant by 1269, when it was used in church unity

meetings in France, the book need not have been made then, and serves best as a terminus ante quem for the group.

Already in 1936 Sirarpie Der Nersessian proposed Lascarid Nicaea as a plausible alternative point of origin to post-conquest Constantinople.¹³ This alternative was greeted with cautious enthusiasm by art historians. Their enthusiasm grew as the cluster of codices associated with the Chicago example grew, both in quality and quantity, making it clear that a true style in its own right was involved. By 1964, when the group was singled out for emphasis in the Athens exhibition, it was becoming known as the "Nicaea School."¹⁴ An attribution in the first rather than the second half of the thirteenth century was defended by Buchthal in the same year.¹⁵ By this time the group had more than doubled its original membership.

Since then its membership has doubled again.¹⁶ It now comprises over eighty books, the largest homogeneous group of illuminated manuscripts known to have survived from Byzantium. This expansion has realigned the problems and premises governing its attribution. First, the group itself has

¹³"Introduction," in Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, note 4), II, xxvi-xxxvi.

¹⁴*Byzantine Art, an European Art* (*supra*, note 4), nos. 295, 298–300, 318, 320, 323, 341, 448.

¹⁵Buchthal, "An Unknown Byzantine Manuscript" (*supra*, note 4).

¹⁶It currently includes: Athens, Benaki Mus., 34.3; Athens, Byz. Mus., 820; Athens, Nat. Lib., 44, 47, 77, 153, and 840; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 528; Berlin, Staatsbibl., oct. 13 (missing) and qu. 66; Brussels, Bibl. Roy., 11375; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 403; Chicago, Univ. Lib., 965; Cologne, Schnütgen Mus., Ludwig II 5; Krakow, Czartoryski Mus., 1870; Florence, Bibl. Laur., Plut. VI.32 and 36; Holkham Hall, MS 3; Istanbul, Topkapi Sarai, 13; Jerusalem, Photiou 28, Saba 62, 208, 357, and 698, Staurou 88, and Taphou 47; Kiev, Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., codex A 25; Leningrad, Saltykov-Šchedrin Pub. Lib., gr. 105 and 644; Leyden, Univ. Lib., Gronov. 137; London, Brit. Lib., Add. 11836, 26103, 37002, 39595, and 40753, and Harley 1810; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Leaf with the Evangelist Mark; Manchester, John Rylands Lib., gr. 17; Messina, Univ. Lib., San Salvatore 51; Mt. Athos, Dionysiu, 4, 12, and 23, Dochiariu, 39, Esphigmenu, 64, Elias-skiti, 1, Gregoriu, 2 m, Ivion, 55, Karakallu, 37, Laura, A 9, A 32, and A 66, B 24, B 26, and B 100, Simopetra, 35? (destroyed), Stauronikita, 56 and 57, and Vatopedi, 851, 882, 939, and 976; Mt. Sinai, 149 and 163; Moscow, Historical Mus., gr. 88 and 3646; Moscow, Lenin Lib., gr. 9 and 11; Mytilene, Boys' Gymnasium, 9; New York, H. P. Kraus, Gospel Book; Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Barocci 201 and Roe 6; Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 31; Oxford, Lincoln College 31; Oxford, New College, 44; Palermo, Bibl. Naz., Deposito Museo 4; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin 200, gr. 61, 94, and 97, Suppl. gr. 175, 927, and 1335; Phillips 7712 (location unknown); Rhodes, Panagia tou Lindou, 4; Switzerland, private collection, page with John and Prochoros; Switzerland, private collection, Psalter; Vatican, Bar. gr. 449 and gr. 751.

⁵*Ibid.*, II, 4 note 2. They give the following list: Athens, Byz. Mus., 820; Athos, Laura, B 26; Berlin, Staatsbibl., oct. 13; Chicago, Univ. Lib., 965; Florence, Laur., Plut. VI.36; Jerusalem, Taphou 47; Leningrad, Saltykov-Šchedrin Pub. Lib., gr. 105; London, Brit. Lib., Add. 11836; Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 31; Palermo, Bibl. Naz., Deposito Museo 4; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin 200; Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 61; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335; Vatican, Barb. gr. 449.

⁶H. Omont, *Fac-similés des manuscrits datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du IX^e au XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1890–91), 12, pl. LVI.

⁷V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 278–79 and pl. 374; *Byzance et la France médiévale*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits, Paris, 1958 (exhibition catalogue), no. 47.

⁸D. Koco and P. Miljković-Peppek, *Manastir* (Skoplje, 1958), *passim*.

⁹K. W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai* (Washington, D.C., 1952), 22.

¹⁰Hamann-Mac Lean, "Der Berliner Codex" (*supra*, note 4), fig. 13.

¹¹D. Talbot Rice, ed., *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond* (Edinburgh, 1968), pls. 37–39.

¹²*Byzance et la France médiévale*, no. 47.

become too big and too diverse to be explained as the product of a single shop. Instead, it embraces a bevy of smaller, overlapping subgroups, each with its own iconographic patterns, stylistic inflections, and paleographic variations and differing widely in quality. Thus the search for some single, presumably imperial scriptorium in which to subsume the entire company is no longer relevant. With this, the nature of the bond uniting the books has become looser and more ambiguous. Far from being a premise upon which the interpretation of the group can be based, the character of the kinship uniting it has become an open question. Only subgroup by subgroup, as the nature of the bonds linking manuscript to manuscript and cluster to cluster become clear, can the attribution, extent, and significance of the group as a whole be understood. Finally, the premises governing the group's chronology have been realigned. This realignment has had the dramatic effect of dislodging a large segment of the group from the accommodating voids of the Latin Interregnum and relocating it in the stylistically highly characterized second half of the twelfth century. The evidence for this realignment has been provided by the subgroup of manuscripts most closely associated with Chicago 965 itself.

This subgroup is the largest among the manuscripts under discussion; it is also the lowest in quality. It is, however, the only one that contains manuscripts with dated scribal colophons. This has assured it a continued, central importance to research on the group, despite its by now far superseded quality. It is on this subgroup and the validity and implications of its colophons that the present paper will focus.¹⁷

THE CHICAGO SUBGROUP

This subgroup is an untidy assemblage of twenty-four codices which does not conform comfortably to any preconceived notion of scriptorium or atelier. Its boundaries blur into a wide aureole of less immediate relatives. Its characteristics are most clearly illustrated by a core of manuscripts whose Evangelist portraits share the style and iconography of those in the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament. These are: Vatican, Barberinianus graecus 449 (cat. 24); Oxford, Christ Church, Wake

31 (cat. 18); London, British Library, Additional 11836 (cat. 7); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément grec 1335 (cat. 23); Leningrad, Saltykov-Šchedrin Public Library, gr. 105 (cat. 6); Mt. Athos, Vatopedi, 939 (cat. 15); and Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, Deposito Museo 4 (cat. 20). All these eight manuscripts have a common iconography and a distinctive style that uses strenuous, magenta color schemes and smoothly modeled drapery surfaces. This combination of iconographic and stylistic features is accompanied by other unifying elements—notably a scheme of ornament, a Gospel and a Psalter cycle, and a type of minuscule script—that permit one in turn to add to the subgroup manuscripts that do not have Evangelist portraits. The most notable among these is Athens, Byzantine Museum, 820 (cat. 2), a fragmentary Gospel Book whose cycle of illustrative miniatures echoes very closely the style and iconography of the Gospel cycles in the Chicago and Leningrad codices.

The nine manuscripts cited so far form a very coherent group. Their Evangelist portraits are very uniform. Their Gospel and Psalter cycles are less disciplined and repeat one another only seldom, but their figure types, compositional patterns, costumes, gestures, and settings are quite consistent and so bespeak a closely shared vocabulary of models. Only one divergence emerges: the Vatican Tetraevangelion uses a large, blocky script that differs from the diminutive minuscules of its eight fellows (figs. 2, 27). Yet it cannot be dismissed from the group on this basis. Several scribes appear in the nine books—the elegant calligrapher of the New Testament and Psalter in Paris is a distinct personality; so, too, is the scribe of London, Add. 11836. Thus the individuality of the Vatican scribe is not a unique case; it is merely more pronounced. Moreover, the Vatican manuscript has particularly intimate artistic bonds with the rest of the group. It is the member most immediately similar in style, ornament, and iconography to the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament (figs. 7, 8), and it is even more intimately related to Oxford, Wake 31 (figs. 3, 5). The drawings of Matthew in the two books are so similar in proportions, facial type, and reticent expressive mood that they must have been made by the same man. He must simply have worked with different scribes, for the Oxford Tetraevangelion uses a variant of the diminutive script. Thus the Vatican manuscript is well meshed into the group and cannot be dislodged on the grounds of its script. The divergence that it exemplifies is

¹⁷I expect to examine individual subgroups in a series of published studies.

symptomatic, however, and is repeated in two more dramatic cases.

One of these is a Tetraevangelion now in New York, owned by H. P. Kraus (cat. 16). It is decorated with a full-page Evangelist portrait and a half-page scene at the opening of each Gospel. It is signed by the same scribe who signed the Vatican codex. The two scripts are not exactly identical, since the Vatican book was written with a softer pen that made flourishes easier (figs. 27, 29). Nonetheless, the punctuations, abbreviations, and many specific forms are the same in the two books; the flourishes that are restrained in the text of the New York manuscript appear in full floridity in its poetic colophon (fig. 30); the colors of the inks are the same in the two books, and there is every reason to believe that they were made by the same man. Despite their common scribe, however, the two books are no more identical artistically than the Vatican and Oxford books had been paleographically (figs. 3, 19). The colors in the New York miniatures are brighter, the iconography differs, and the compositions are busier. Nonetheless, every feature encountered there can be paralleled exactly elsewhere in the subgroup. The obstreperous pink and green color scheme with its bright, chalky blue can be found in parts of Chicago 965, in the Leningrad Gospels, and above all in the New Testament and Psalter in Paris. The garish patterning of the background architecture appears in London, Add. 11836, in the Paris New Testament and Psalter, and in Vatopedi 939 (figs. 6, 11, 12). The vermiculated thrones with their beaded borders are a hallmark of the whole subgroup, and the cross-stitches on the cushions occur in the Paris manuscript. The facial types of the New York figures also closely parallel those in Paris (figs. 20, 21). The postures of Mark and Luke are repeated in Vatopedi 939, as are the bicolored curtain and the brocaded fabric of the authors' footstools. The same brocaded pattern is used in Coislin 200 (cat. 21), a manuscript related paleographically to the Paris New Testament and Psalter, and it is in Coislin 200 and Mt. Athos, Laura, A 66 (cat. 10), two relatives of the Paris manuscript, that one finds the posture of Matthew repeated (figs. 1, 10). The head on the staff of Matthew's lectern in the New York Gospels (fig. 19) recurs in the portrait of John of Chicago 965 and in that of Matthew of Mt. Athos, Vatopedi 939 (fig. 12). The appearance of an Evangelist symbol in two of the other New York portraits indicates that this peculiar head belongs to a cycle of Evangelist symbols. Evangelist symbols appear also

in the Paris New Testament and Psalter (fig. 56). Thus each element of the New York Evangelist portraits is well attested in the Chicago subgroup.

The same is true of the four scenes. In the image of the Anastasis before the Johannine Gospel, one recognizes at once the symmetrical composition, the specific *dramatis personae* and the figure of Christ with his fluttering drapery that appear in the Anastasis miniatures of the Chicago and Leningrad cycles. The Birth of the Baptist, placed at the opening of Luke, is far more regularly organized than its counterpart in Chicago, but the elements—Mother, visitors, and midwife arranging the cradle—are the same. The Baptism at the beginning of Mark (fig. 24) repeats exactly that in Chicago 965, including John's furry blue tunic with long sleeves, while the angels are identical to the one in Leningrad 105. The most telling parallel is offered by the Nativity, painted above the opening to Matthew (fig. 23). The composition repeats the one used in Leningrad 105 and the Lucan miniature in Chicago 965 (fig. 25). It includes the three figures of uncertain identity crowded in under the wing of the left-hand angel that appear in the Matthean Nativity in the Chicago manuscript. But the most exceptional feature is the replacement of the bath by a figure of a midwife arranging the blankets on a cradle. The same figure was drawn in over the baby's bath in the Matthean Nativity miniature in Chicago (fig. 2). It occurs nowhere else. This element above all unites the New York Gospels with the Chicago subgroup. For all its variations, then, the New York Tetraevangelion must be adopted as a tenth member of the subgroup.

The other instance of divergence involves Mt. Athos, Laura, B 26 (cat. 11), a New Testament and Psalter like Chicago 965, London, Add. 11836, Paris, Suppl. gr. 1335, and Palermo 4. Its script is so nearly identical to that in Chicago 965 that they must have been copied by the same scribe (figs. 2, 18). Certainly the two books reflect a common textual tradition, for the same quatrain on the healing virtues of the Word inscribed at the close of the Gospels in Chicago 965, Palermo 4, and Leningrad 105 can be found in Laura B 26.¹⁸ The book's ornament, too, is like that in Chicago 965, and its

¹⁸The quatrain, given on fol. 105^v in Chicago 965, on fol. 108^r in Laura B 26, on fol. 105^v in Leningrad 105, and on fol. 117^v in Palermo 4, reads:

Ἡ τετρας τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ λόγου
Ἐκχεῖ τὸ ῥεῦμα τῶν ἀειροῦτων λόγων
Τοῖνυν ὁ διφῶν μὴ κατόκνει τοῦ πίνειν
Ψυχὰς κατάρδει καὶ ποτίζει τὰς φρένας.

Praxapostolos and Psalter pictures repeat the imagery of the Chicago codex's kin. Stylistically, however, Laura B 26 is somewhat different. Its Praxapostolos and Psalter pictures use streaky surfaces and unattractive color combinations of red and green. Its Evangelists (fig. 17) are based on better models, but these, too, though they belong to the decorative style, are distinct from the Evangelists of Chicago 965. The style and color scheme of Laura B 26 unite it with relatives of its own, including Mt. Athos, Vatopedi, 851 (cat. 14); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Roe 6 (cat. 17; fig. 15); and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, gr. oct. 13 (cat. 3). These books, two of which are or were New Testaments and Psalters, adhere to the iconography and the diminutive minuscule which had already united Laura B 26 with the Chicago subgroup; the Oxford codex, a copy of Gregory of Nazianzus' Homilies, reveals underdrawings in its Pentecost miniature (fig. 16) that seem to have been done by the very man whose mumps-faced figures loom glumly on folio 19^v in Chicago. Both scribes and artists bridge the two clusters, then. Their actual relationship is hard to assess. Laura B 26 and its kin may represent the intrusion of a new stylistic model into the scriptorium that produced the Chicago subgroup; the two may represent different ateliers which drew at times upon the same scribes. The crisscrossings of personnel that one sees in the Barberini, Wake, and New York Gospels and again in Chicago 965, Roe 6, and Laura B 26, however, and the infinite variations worked on a limited fund of models without the overriding discipline that one would expect in an organized atelier, suggest a looser situation in which patrons were drawing anew upon a fluid population of bookmen and painters as each commission came up. Such a conception is reinforced by the amorphous group of manuscripts that lie between these two intersecting clusters. These include Coislin 200 and Laura A 66, mentioned already; Athens, Benaki Museum, 34.3 (cat. 1), a tiny and repetitively illuminated Psalter similar in style to the Paris New Testament and Psalter and in iconography to Laura B 26; and assorted others: Laura B 100 (cat. 12) and Stauronikita 57 (cat. 13) on Mt. Athos; Moscow, Historical Museum, gr. 88 (cat. 9); Oxford, Lincoln College, 31 (cat. 19); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément grec 927 (cat. 22). In such a conception, the ramified cluster of Chicago 965's relatives would represent less a closed workshop than a loose geographical area. Certainly, the complex Chicago subgroup warns against the effort to organize and manipulate these man-

uscripts too rigidly in terms of what are usually considered traditional workshop patterns.

Development

The pattern of development within the subgroup is most readily traced in the Evangelist portraits of the initial eight books. The most distinctive image is that of Matthew which is easily followed from book to book. The versions most obviously reflecting the same model are those in Barberini 449 and in the Paris New Testament and Psalter (figs. 3, 11). Frames, gestures, and postures are identical. The Paris miniature, however, produces an impression of grander scale and more concentrated power. In its integration of figure and architecture into an allover pattern, in its taut, repoussé treatment of the strongly contoured drapery parts, and in its expanded scale it amplifies the principles stated in the Vatican miniature, and so appears to be later. This conclusion is reinforced by the existence of intermediate stages. The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament itself offers one (fig. 8). Its Evangelists, lodged like the Vatican examples in the headpieces to their respective Gospels, do not reflect the ample scale of the Paris figures; it is only tentatively in the figure of John, moreover, that the Chicago miniatures begin to show the sleek sequence of relief-like bulges that had made the drapery surfaces of the Paris Matthew so taut and energetic. By comparison with the Vatican Evangelists (fig. 7), however, those in the Chicago manuscript are broader and more ample, with sharper, tighter contours. Thus the Chicago miniatures take their place between the other two, probably closer to the Paris than to the Vatican set. The Oxford and London codices (figs. 5, 6), on the other hand, are nearer the Vatican Gospel Book. Lean-shanked and lanky, their Evangelists take only shaky command of their spacious, full-page settings, and do not reflect the degree of confident breadth that the Chicago painter had known to give his figures. It is probably to the same phase that the New York Gospels belong (figs. 19, 20). The figures here remain shallow and thinly contoured, the backgrounds are jumbled, and neither figure nor setting has the force and clarity to generate a screen of tense, dynamic pattern like that of the Paris miniatures. The Evangelists in Leningrad 105, on the other hand, dominate fully the plane of pattern on which their contours are traced (fig. 14). Their drapery surfaces rise from these contours in thick, congested bulges as if padded. The individual pockets of relief found in Paris are fused, pro-

ducing an impression approaching organic wholeness. The grand scale and coherent relief in these figures go beyond those in the Paris examples and so are presumably later. Vatopedi 939 is problematic (fig. 12). Its thick, opaque pigment produces an impression of coherence and depth in photographs, but is disappointing in color slides and may be nothing more than a later overpainting. Palermo 4, finally, must close the sequence (fig. 13). Its large forms, patterned settings, and fluent highlights that unite rather than subdivide the limbs echo the grand scale and coherent modeling of Leningrad 105. The smooth surfaces, however, have been abandoned in favor of a streaky and facile linearism that bespeaks the bankruptcy of the Chicago subgroup's most distinctive stylistic feature.

The eight manuscripts, then, suggest a sequence running from the Vatican Tetraevangelion through the New York, Oxford, and London volumes to Chicago 965, thence to the Paris New Testament and Psalter, Leningrad 105, and finally to Palermo 4. In terms of this development, it is clear that the highly decorative Evangelists of Laura B 26 cannot antedate the Paris set, and their cluster of kindred miniatures must lie late in the group. It is hard to guess how long a span of time should be imagined from beginning to end of the development, but it probably was not great. The Chicago Evangelists are still closely akin to those in the Vatican codex, and Palermo 4 is yet more strongly reminiscent of such miniatures as the Angel at the Tomb (fol. 54^v) in its Chicago sibling. The span from the Barberini to the Chicago miniatures is probably greater than that from the Chicago to the Palermo ones, but the whole process need not represent much more than a generation.

Just when this generation occurred is indicated by two dated colophons. One is in the Vatican, the other in the New York Tetraevangelion. Both of these manuscripts were signed by the same scribe, one Manuel Hagiostephanites. He signed the Vatican codex in magenta ink at the end of the Johanne Gospel on 13 May 1153 (fig. 28).¹⁹ The New York Gospels were completed three years later, in 1156, and are accompanied by a poetic dedication of impenetrable semantic and scribal extravagance devoted to the patron, John the Cretan, archbishop of Cyprus (fig. 30). The poem was transcribed by Lambros in 1898²⁰ when the book be-

longed to the monastery of Hagias on Andros; shortly thereafter, the book was lost and the implications of its poem were not examined until the book was identified once again, this time in New York in 1975. If valid, these colophons would move the entire Chicago subgroup out of the thirteenth century and into the crowded generation between the 1150s and 1180s.

Paleography

Paleographically, the validity of the two colophons is hard to discount. The script in the Vatican one contrasts convincingly with that in the body of the text, the ink is identical to that used at the close of the three preceding Gospels, and the date is correct in all respects.²¹ The New York one is more haphazard, but persuasive in ink, letter types, and date. The names given make good mutual sense. Hagiostephanites was the name of a twelfth-century Cypriot noble family;²² John the Cretan, archbishop of Cyprus from 1152 until about 1170,²³ was surely in office when Manuel was working.

The script of the Gospel text is equally consistent with the colophons' content (figs. 27, 29). Its blocky, energetic ductus, deep black ink, varied forms and ligatures, and copious uncials can be found again in two major clusters of dated manuscripts without illuminations. One of these is gathered around a copy of St. Neophytus' works produced in 1214 in Paphos and now MS 224 (*olim* Laing 881) in the University Library in Edinburgh.²⁴ It includes three codices in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: grec 1189, Coislin grec

²¹ The validity of the colophon was upheld by K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934–39) (hereafter K. and S. Lake), VIII, MS 317; and more recently C. Giannelli, cited by V. Laurent, "Une famille turque au service de Byzance: les Mélikès," *BZ*, 49 (1956), 354 note 2.

²² A. P. Každan, *Social'nyj sostav gosподstvennogo klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974), 114, 151.

²³ V. Laurent, "La succession épiscopale des derniers archevêques grecs de Chypre, de Jean le Crétois (1152) à Germain Pésimandros (1260)," *REB*, 7 (1949), 35.

²⁴ I. P. Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά* (Nicosia, 1969), pls. III, IV; J. Darrouzès, "Autres manuscrits originaires de Chypre," *REB*, 14 (1957), 143; Ch. Astruc and M.-L. Concasty, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs: Le supplément grec*, III, nos. 901–1371 (Paris, 1960), 602–8; I. P. Tsiknopoullos, "Ο 'Αγιος Νεόφυτος πρεσβύτερος μοναχός και ἐγκλιςτος και ιερά αὐτοῦ μονή (Paphos, 1955), 165, 176, 196, 199; J. Darrouzès, "Les manuscrits originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale," *REB*, 8 (1950), 172–86; R. Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, II: *Le fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), 271–72; F. E. Warren, "The 'Ritual Ordinance' of Neophytos," *Archaeologia*, 27 (1882), 40. The script of Paris, Suppl. gr. 1317, is remarkably similar, in turn, to that of Berlin, quarto 66, a very important member of the decorative

¹⁹ The colophon is given in the catalogue.

²⁰ S. P. Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀνδρῶν μονῇ τῆς Ἀγίας κωδίκων*, in *Ἑπετηρίς τοῦ φιλολογικοῦ συλλόγου Παρισσοῦ*, 2 (1898), 167–69.

287, and Supplément grec 1317. The similarity of Paris, grec 1189 to yet another Cypriot manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 633, of 1186,²⁵ suggests that the books represent a script which was used in Cyprus in the decades on either side of 1200. The script itself is distinguished by its clean, blocky forms and deep black ink. The letter forms are varied; uncial forms are in high proportion and some of them, like *delta*, *kappa*, and *lambda*, are used to produce decorative diagonal currents across the page. Diaereses appear over *iota* and *upsilon*. The regularity of the script increases as one moves from gr. 633 of 1186 through gr. 1189 to Suppl. gr. 1317 and Edinburgh 224 of 1214. Of the five books, Coislin 287 (fig. 31) is the one most immediately akin to Manuel's books. Like the Vatican Tetraevangelion, Coislin 287 is written on twenty-four lines per page, and its blocky letters run in coherent rows occupying about one half of the interline space. The deep black ink and bold, often serified strokes, the intermittent enlargement of uncial forms and the periodic, highly visible snake-bite diaeresis are strikingly similar to those of Manuel Hagiostephanites. The Coislin forms are, it is true, more regular and evenly spaced, a regularity that becomes stronger in the calligraphic script of Suppl. gr. 1317 (fig. 32). One notices, too, that Manuel's distinctive *epsilon-pi* ligature (Επ), accordion-shaped *xi* and spade-like *rho* are more prevalent in Paris 1189 and the earlier Paris 633 than in Coislin 287. Nonetheless, the visual kinship of Coislin 287 and Manuel Hagiostephanites' Vatican manuscript in particular is impressive. It validates the colophons' Cypriot connection, and is not inconsistent with the general time frame that they indicate.

The second group of dated manuscripts centers on three Palestinian codices, but continues later in books produced in the islands—Rhodes and Cyprus. It opens with Anastaseos 9, in the Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, a Lectionary made for and probably in Tiberias in Galilee in 1152 by a scribe named George (fig. 33).²⁶ It continues with two manuscripts on Mt. Sinai, 220 and 232, that were copied in 1167 and 1174 respectively by one Basil the Notary in the Kellion

monastery in Bethlehem (fig. 34).²⁷ Its script is carried on in two later codices: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, fol. gr. 51, a Gospel Book copied in 1193 on Cyprus,²⁸ and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 301, a Lectionary of 1204 produced for and probably in a Cypriot monastery by a Rhodian named George.²⁹ In this group, one sees once again the heavy black ink, boxy letters, varied characters with copious uncials, deliberately enlarged letter forms, and bold, often serified strokes that had distinguished Manuel Hagiostephanites' script. Here again one finds the flourishing uncial *kappas* and *lambdas*, the expansive *epsilons*, the emphatic diagonals of *rhos* and *deltas*, the round-topped *epsilon-xi*, the distinctive *epsilon-pi* ligature, and the diaeresis on *iota*. One finds the penchant for triplets of enlarged letters—Basil especially likes to enlarge the sequence *delta-epsilon-delta*. Here again the individual letters are written in dense sequences that give the written lines a particular coherence and throw the enlarged letters into sharp relief. In all of these respects, this second group aligns itself readily with Manuel's books. Of the five members, Anastaseos 9 in Jerusalem (fig. 33) is of particular interest. This manuscript, copied a year earlier than Manuel's Barberini codex, is the dated book most closely akin to Manuel's. Its heavy black and magenta inks, its blocky letters and compact lines of variegated characters are by now familiar and fall into easy tandem with both Basil's and Manuel's scripts. The bold, resilient strokes, the boxy letters with their hooked tails, the enlarged *kappas*, *lambdas* and *epsilons*, and many of the specific forms—the blowsy *beta*, the *epsilon-pi* ligature, the diaeresis on *iota*, the accordion-like *xi*, the florid *rho* and big, looping *upsilon*—are particularly reminiscent of Manuel's script. So, too, are the emphatic accents and the restless crisscross of varied rhythms across the page as a whole. By comparison with Coislin 287 and even with Basil's books, the affinity between Manuel's script and that found in Anastaseos 9 is especially strong. The restless spontaneity that had differentiated Barberini 449 from Coislin

style group that was probably made before 1219 (see *infra*, note 109).

²⁵ Darrouzès, "Les manuscrits originaux de Chypre," 178; K. and S. Lake, V, MS 193, pls. 329–30.

²⁶ K. and S. Lake, I, MS 11, pls. 19–22; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, III (St. Petersburg, 1897), 207–8.

²⁷ Clark, *Checklist*, 3; V. Benešević and Porphyrij (Uspenskij), *Opisanie grečeskih Rukopisej Monastyra Svjatoi Ekateriny na Sinai*, I (St. Petersburg, 1911), 116–17; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, II, 726. On the Kellion monastery, see B. Granić, "Der Inhalt der Subscriptionen in den datierten griechischen Handschriften des 11., 12., und 13. Jahrhunderts," *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 265.

²⁸ Darrouzès, "Autres manuscrits," 137 note 23; K. and S. Lake, V, MS 203, pl. 348. This book has been missing since the Second World War.

²⁹ Omont, *Fac-similés* (*supra*, note 6), pl. LI.

287 is very much present in Anastaseos 9. In the end, it is in this mid-twelfth-century script that Manuel's finds its closest counterpart. This can only corroborate the mid-twelfth-century dates of his colophons.

The Palestinian origin of Anastaseos 9 is unlikely to prejudice the validity of Manuel's colophons. Jean Darrouzès has emphasized already the close similarity of Cypriot and Palestinian scripts,³⁰ and the two groups of dated manuscripts examined here have shown clearly that the vigorous, boxy black script that Manuel used was not confined to Cyprus or Palestine. It was used in both, and no reliable method of distinguishing the two has been found. It was also used by Rhodian scribes. No fewer than seven manuscripts by Rhodian scribes of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries survive, and they all reflect, albeit in less disciplined form, the script used in the Palestinian books of the twelfth century.³¹ It is notable that of the seven, one was made on Cyprus, one was made in Jerusalem, and two were made on Patmos. This illustrates excellently the peripatetic habits of the Byzantine scribe and offers a possible explanation for the diffusion of the script being studied here. Just what this script was is as yet unclear. To some extent it reflects a more widely spread, cosmopolitan movement that emerged in metropolitan manuscripts of the second quarter of the twelfth century and continued to shape calligraphic scripts throughout the second half of the century.³² Whether the books associated here with Anastaseos 9 and Manuel's codices represent a genuine local variant or a mere

general abrasion of this cosmopolitan current is not entirely clear. The heavy black ink, blocky letters, and idiosyncratic forms like the *epsilon-pi* ligature suggest that this may be a local development. It may have radiated from Palestine, but it was certainly in use in Cyprus and left its imprint on Rhodes as well. Locally as well as chronologically, then, there is no paleographic reason to doubt Manuel's colophons.

One must in turn ask whether the diminutive script seen in the other members of the Chicago subgroup is similarly consistent with twelfth-century paleographic trends. This small script, so successfully paralleled with that in Paris 117 of 1262, has been the most substantial argument supporting the thirteenth-century attribution of the subgroup, and it continues to be cited in discussions with paleographers today. No dated examples of this script have been found, and it was surely not confined to the Levant. But a series of arguments can be mustered in support of both its twelfth-century date and its use in the area of Palestine. The vocabulary of individual letter forms and ligatures is not far different from that appearing in Manuel's books, and no form that is unprecedented there can be used to argue a substantially later date for the smaller script. A clear anticipation of the script in question can be found in Princeton, University Library, Garrett 3, made in St. Sabas near Jerusalem in 1136 (fig. 26).³³ The small scale, the apparently cursive ductus, the extensive abbreviations along the right margin, the deep black ink, the dense sequences of small, round characters, and the deliberate exploitation of diagonal rhythms and contrasting letter sizes all produce a superficial kinship with the scripts of the Chicago subgroup that is strengthened by the recurrence of characteristic forms—the topless *epsilon-iota* digraph, the diaeresis on *iota*, the *delta*, *lambda*, or *kappa* dipping below the line before rising to adjoin an adjacent *alpha*, the numerous ligatures with *epsilon* and *rho*, and the round-topped *epsilon-xi*. The Garrett manuscript introduces fewer ligatures and a smaller proportion of uncials, thus implying a somewhat earlier phase of the script than that seen in the majority of the Chicago subgroup. The script appears in fully matured form, however, in Mt. Athos, Panteleimon, 29, and in Ox-

³⁰Darrouzès, "Autres manuscrits," 132.

³¹The manuscripts are: Patmos, 175 (1180), Patmos, 743 (1180); and Rhodes, church of Apollona, Evangeliary (1181), all by Neilos of Rhodes and discussed by A. Komines, *Facsimiles of Dated Patmian Codices* (Athens, 1970), 26–27; Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 11 (1186), reproduced in K. and S. Lake, V, MS 192; Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 301 (1204), reproduced in Omont, *Fac-similés*, LI; Mt. Athos, Vatopedi, 911 (1209), cited in S. Eustratiades and Arkadios, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μονῇ Βατοπεδίου ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων* (Paris, 1934), 169; and Vatican, gr. 648 (1232), reproduced by A. Turyn, *Codices graeci vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican City, 1964), 26–27, pl. 6.

³²From the second quarter of the century, see Mt. Athos, Dionysiu, 8 (now Cologne, Schnütgen Mus., Ludwig II 4, and Athens, Paul Canellopoulos) of 1133, shown in K. and S. Lake, III, MS 116, pls. 197–98; and manuscripts of the family of Vatican, Urbin. gr. 2, such as Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 32, shown in W. H. P. Hatch, *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pl. LXIV. Good examples of the trend as it continues include Vatican, Palat. gr. 13 of 1167, reproduced in K. and S. Lake, VIII, MS 319, pl. 586; and Patmos, 9 and 262, both of 1192, shown *ibid.*, I, MSS 29 and 30, pls. 53–54, and in Komines, *Facsimiles*, pls. 18–19.

³³*Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton University, 1973, no. 37; H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), 42 and pl. 144b.

ford, Bodleian Library, Laud gr. 30 A, both attributable on artistic grounds to the twelfth century.³⁴ The former is illuminated in a straightforward Comnenian style which is unlikely to postdate the third quarter of the twelfth century (fig. 36). The latter, though much overpainted, reveals in its figure of Zacharias (fig. 54) a style influenced by the same manner as that seen in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, copte 13 of 1178–80.³⁵ Often associated erroneously with the “Baghdad school,” this manner radiated from Syria in the second half of the twelfth century. It must have been in this same period that Laud gr. 30 A was produced. Similarly strong testimony is offered by a Menaion in Grottaferrata, Δ.α. 32.³⁶ Its tiny, fluent script is closely akin to that in Chicago 965. Its musical notation, however, is of the Coislin type, last evidenced in a dated book in 1177.³⁷ Though the Grottaferrata Menaion need not necessarily antedate 1177, it is unlikely to be much later. An angular and mannered version of the diminutive script appears, finally, in London, British Library, Additional 40753 (cat. 8), a little Psalter that must predate the notice of 1213 scrawled on its first folio (fig. 35). The cumulative weight of this evidence draws the diminutive script of Chicago 965 into the same twelfth-century period and Palestinian sphere implied by Manuel’s own script and colophons.³⁸

³⁴For Panteleimon, 29, see S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, II (Amsterdam, 1925), 285. This interesting manuscript is otherwise unpublished. Its heavily overpainted Evangelist portraits resemble those of the Chicago subgroup, using in Luke’s cushion the same brocaded pattern seen in the Evangelists’ footstools in Vatopedi, 939, and the New York Gospels, and showing John hunched over a half-open codex. Its Apostolic authors stand under decorative arches like those in Leningrad, Saltykov-Šcedrin Pub. Lib., gr. 101, and Paul on fol. 216r in Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 61. For Oxford, Laud gr. 30 A, see I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, I: Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1 (Stuttgart, 1977), no. 54.

³⁵On the “Baghdad” style, see J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés* (Paris, 1974), 228; R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), 98; E. Monneret de Villard, *Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Rome, 1950), 54. On copte 13, see M. Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei* (Recklinghausen, 1964), 93–113. The Arabic illuminations paralleled with copte 13, like those of Paris, Bibl. Nat., arabe 3465 of 1222–23 and arabe 6094 of about 1200, are often associated with works of the “Baghdad” school. Buchthal, however, has pointed out that they belong to a different type of Arabic art and “should not be confused with the products of the Baghdad school”: see “Hellenistic’ Miniatures in Early Islamic Manuscripts,” *AI*, 7 (1940), 133.

³⁶O. Strunk, ed., *Specimina notationum antiquiorum*, pt. I (Copenhagen, 1966), pls. 60–63.

³⁷Strunk, ed., *Specimina notationum antiquiorum*, suppl. part., 7–8.

³⁸Much the same conclusion has been reached by K. Snipes in his work on Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 1712, “Prolegomena to a

Artistic Evidence: Manuel’s Manuscripts

The integration of Manuel’s manuscripts into the twelfth century is more difficult on an artistic than on a paleographic basis. There are far fewer dated examples to draw on and the miniatures themselves are far more closely related to other members of the decorative style group than they are to any illuminations outside. Iconographically, nonetheless, the images are encouraging. Among the Evangelist portraits, the postures of the synoptic authors and of John in the New York Tetraevangelion are of hoary vintage; even the frontality of the New York Mark is, if not customary, at least not unprecedented. The posture of John in the Barberini Tetraevangelion—turning from his three-quarters posture in an armchair to look at an arc of Heaven behind him—is too rare to be problematic: it appears elsewhere only in Paris, Suppl. gr. 927, its own relative. Neither manuscript takes up the posture of John hunched over a half-open codex, but this had been used already in the mosaics of the Martorana in Palermo in the 1140s, and so comes as no surprise when it appears for the first time in Oxford, Wake 31. The Evangelist symbols are not frequent denizens of Byzantine miniatures, but they had appeared sporadically in the eleventh century and were used more frequently in the twelfth.³⁹ The pattern of the brocade on the footstools of the authors in the New York Gospels is repeated in the portrait of Mark in Princeton, Garrett 3, the Gospel Book made in 1136 in the monastery of St. Sabas near Jerusalem (fig. 22), and again in the Virgin’s suppedaneum in the twelfth-century apse at Trikomo on Cyprus. The Evangelist portraits, then, fit easily into twelfth-century iconographic patterns. The scenes in the New York Tetraevangelion are equally amenable. All elements of these images can be paralleled by 1150, and some of them point quite specifically to the twelfth century itself. The very use of a scene before each Gospel had a particular currency in the mid-twelfth century, when it occurred in Moscow, Historical Museum, gr. 519, and in the families of both Vatican, Urbina graecus 2, and Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. Z 540.⁴⁰ Of the four episodes

New Edition of the Chronographia of Michael Psellus” (D. Phil. diss., Oxford Univ., 1978).

³⁹R. Nelson, *Preface and Miniature. Studies on the Iconography of the Byzantine Gospel Book* (forthcoming), chap 2 and appendix 1.

⁴⁰C. Meredith, “The Illustrations of Codex Ebnerianus,” *JWarb*, 29 (1966), 419–24.

shown in the New York manuscript, the Anastasis is without particular iconographic distinction. In the Birth of the Baptist, on the other hand, the motif of the midwife tending the cradle can be paralleled particularly closely in Vatican, Urbin. gr. 2, and its relatives of the 1130s and '40s.⁴¹ The scene of the Baptism (fig. 24) is distinguished by the tight-sleeved fur tunic of John, a garment which appears for the first dated time in Byzantine painting in the Melisende Psalter (London, British Library, Egerton 1139) of 1131–43⁴² and the Cappella Palatina of the 1140s.⁴³ It then becomes widespread in the middle and later twelfth century. It is rare after the twelfth century, and so points quite specifically to the period mentioned in Manuel's colophons.⁴⁴ The repetition of the cradle in the Nativity of Christ is more complicated (fig. 23). The motif itself is obviously a renegade from the Birth of the Baptist, where it had good twelfth-century precedent in Urbin. gr. 2. Its application to Christ's Nativity is more singular and recurs only in Chicago 965. A crib without a midwife does, however, appear in the Nativity in Garrett 3, the Palestinian Tetraevangelion of 1136 (fig. 26).⁴⁵ To this extent even the rarest motif has a twelfth-century paral-

lel, and Manuel's manuscripts fit without a hitch into the iconographic pattern of both the period and the place specified in his colophons.

The testimony of style is more crucial and also more complicated. The pattern of metropolitan production at mid-century is imperfectly understood; moreover, it is in their style that Manuel's manuscripts retreat most irretractably into their own group. Only three dated mid-century manuscripts of Constantinopolitan origin or quality survive: Mt. Sinai, 157, produced during the incumbency of the Hegumen Theoktistos at Patmos (*ca.* 1128–57);⁴⁶ Mt. Sinai, 339, made in the metropolis itself when Joseph was hegumen of the Pantocrator monastery (1136–55);⁴⁷ and Vatican, Urbin. gr. 2, produced in the capital during the co-emperorship of Alexius II Comnenus (1122–42).⁴⁸ The three manuscripts are not immediately related to one another, and no one of them provides a persuasive point of comparison with the miniatures in Manuel's books. Sinai 157 is useful in presenting a dated parallel for the rippling fold along the haunch of the Matthew in the New York Gospels, but its style is meticulous and dry. The figure style of Sinai 339, too, is conservative. In both manuscripts the imaginative vitality of the illumination lies less in the figure style than in the decoration. Eleventh-century motifs are lavishly mixed and enriched with the freer, more dynamic vine-scroll patterns pioneered in Vatican, Urbin. gr. 2 and its relatives.

It is the powerful and prolific circle of Urbin. gr. 2 and its relatives that has by and large preempted our conception of mid-twelfth-century metropolitan manuscript illumination. Paleographic observations have recently led to gathering the group into the middle third of the century;⁴⁹ art historians incline to the generation between about 1130 and 1160.⁵⁰ Artistically, the remarkable thing about these manuscripts is, again, the ornament.⁵¹ The area devoted to ornament expands in deep frames

⁴¹ See Vatican, Urbin. gr. 2: C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco e dell' evangelario greco urbinato*, Codices vaticanis selecti, Series minor, I (Rome, 1910), pl. 88.

⁴² Buchthal, *Miniature Painting* (*supra*, note 33), 1–13 and pl. 3b. The Melisende Psalter was painted by a Western miniaturist in Jerusalem. He was *au courant* of contemporary Byzantine developments, however, and his imagery reflects many of the most up-to-date Constantinopolitan motifs. He may even have influenced metropolitan painters: cf. H. Buchthal, "The Twelfth Century: The Codex Eberhardianus and Its Relatives," Franklin Jasper Walls Lecture Series, VIII, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 8 March 1977. Thus the manuscript can furnish evidence of contemporary Byzantine artistic activity.

⁴³ O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1948), pls. 19A, 23A.

⁴⁴ The tunic appears in the Melisende Psalter; the Cappella Palatina; Venice 540; Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 519; Bačkov; the Yedilär Cave at Latmos; icons nos. 82, 495, and 1031 on Mt. Sinai; the Mavriotissa in Kastoria; Kars Kilise of 1212 in Cappadocia, and a great many Byzantinizing works of the twelfth century from Syria, Cilician Armenia, and the Latin West. After about 1200, however, it appears only in certain Sinai icons, e.g., no. 1745, and in Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 543, a fourteenth-century copy of a twelfth-century cycle. See G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 6 (Princeton, 1969), pl. cviii, fig. 464.

⁴⁵ See *supra*, note 33. Christ lies in what is clearly a piece of carpentered furniture. It is perhaps relevant that the "cradle of Christ" enjoyed a period of pilgrim veneration in Jerusalem during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Mentioned by John of Würzburg and Theoderich, it was located in a small chapel in the southeast corner of the Haram. See John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, V (London, 1892), 21–22; Theoderich, *Theoderich's Description*, PPTS, V, 4 (London, 1892), 32–33; Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Cambridge, 1890), 166.

⁴⁶ Nelson, "Text and Image" (*supra*, note 2), 43–80.

⁴⁷ J. Anderson, "The Illustrations of Cod. Sinai Gr. 339," *ArtB*, 61 (1979), 167–85; Galavaris, *Illustrations*, 255–58, pls. LXXXIV–LXXXIV.

⁴⁸ For varied assessments of the date of this manuscript, see J. C. Anderson, "An Examination of Two Twelfth-Century Centers of Byzantine Manuscript Production (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1975), 20; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, note 7), 192; and M. Bonicatti, "Par l'origine del Salterio Barberiniano greco 372 e la cronologia del Tetraevangelo Urbinato 2," *RCCM*, 2 (1960), 41–61.

⁴⁹ N. Wilson, *Medieval Greek Bookhands. Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pls. 44–45.

⁵⁰ Buchthal, "The Twelfth Century" (*supra*, note 42).

⁵¹ Anderson, "An Examination," 20–157.

and even full carpet headpieces, and the scale and dynamism of the individual motifs expand as well, knitting what had been collections of concentric frames into unified screens of integrated, continuous pattern. The figure style, which is patterned and brightly colored, is notably responsive to the ornament. An important motivation behind its colorful, hard-edged abstraction seems to be the effort to bring image and ornament into harmony. Figure and setting unite in lively patterns that are as ornamental as their opulent frames. Often they derive an expressive tension from the interplay of surface designs and depth. This expressive use of abstract patterns is exploited especially in the group's novel narrative mode. Best seen in the two books of James Kokkinobaphus' Homilies, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 1208, and Vatican, graecus 1162,⁵² this mode uses individually framed compositions but binds them into an ongoing continuum through the dynamism of the design in each frame. The group's stylistic sequence is not clear, but Buchthal's placement of the Vatican after the Paris Kokkinobaphus manuscript and Anderson's examination of the ornament suggest that it moved in the direction of expanded scale, heightened emotional definition, and the growing exploitation of abstraction for decorative or expressive ends.⁵³

On the surface, the dated metropolitan manuscripts have little enough to do with the miniatures in Manuel's books. On a less superficial plane, however, significant areas of consensus emerge. The motive features of the Urbin. gr. 2 group can, in their way, be seen with equal clarity in the miniatures of Manuel's books. There is the imposition of a decorative canon on the figure style that turns drapery surfaces and settings alike into abstract patterns and unites them in colorful, all-over conceptions. Figure and setting harden into decorative ensembles that are silhouetted with a new abstract sharpness against the gold ground. This is as true of the manuscripts associated with Urbin. gr. 2 as it is of those associated with Manuel. In the

narrative miniatures of the metropolitan group and in the New York miniatures of Manuel's group the settings expand in bright patterns to take fuller possession of the picture surface. An impetus behind this manner is the union of figure and ornament in decorative ensembles of a novel grandiosity. The responsive, double-page spread of portrait and headpiece is seen in both groups; the embedding of ample figure in ample frame is found in Manuel's Vatican manuscript as well as in Urbin. gr. 2, and one notes in the former how the purple tonality of the ornament pervades the miniatures, too, uniting them visually. Above all, there is the emphasis given to ornament itself. In each of the metropolitan manuscripts ornament was used more innovatively than the figural compositions were; decorative elements were immediately remarked in Manuel's Vatican codex and its vast family as well. If not in specific forms, then, Manuel's group does adhere to the dated metropolitan monuments in its underlying principles of style.

The undated manuscripts attributed to mid-twelfth-century metropolitan workshops offer more concrete parallels with Manuel's miniatures. The most interesting of these are Melbourne, National Gallery, 710/5, and Venice Z 540.⁵⁴ United by their opulent ornament and their historiated Canon Tables, these two Tetraevangelia are bound to the metropolis by the recurrence of these Canon Tables in the late twelfth-century Constantinopolitan Vani Gospels (Tbilisi, Manuscript Institute of the National Academy of the Georgian S.S.R., codex A 1335).⁵⁵ Long ascribed to the early twelfth century, these two manuscripts are now more often placed in the middle of the century: the carpet headpiece, used with brilliance in both, makes its appearance only in the 1130s in the Urbin. gr. 2 group; the tight-sleeved fur tunic of the Baptist in Venice Z 540 appears for the first dated time in the 1140s; the dry and linear style of the Venice Evangelists is more reminiscent of the mosaics of the north transept wall in the Cappella Palatina and the frescoes at Pskov (1156);⁵⁶ and the script in the Venice volume resembles most closely the mid-century script

⁵² The Vatican miniatures were published by Stornajolo, *Miniature* (*supra*, note 41); isolated miniatures from the Paris cycle are reproduced in J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris-Brussels, 1926), pls. xxv-xxvii; and A. Grabar, *Miniatures byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1939), figs. 47-49. On the narrative style developed in them, see most recently I. Hutter, "Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobos und ihre Illustrationen" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Vienna, 1970), 482-83.

⁵³ Anderson, "An Examination," *passim*; Buchthal, "The Twelfth Century"; *idem*, "A School of Miniature Painting and Its Place in the Art of Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," read at the 15th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Athens, 10 September 1976.

⁵⁴ H. Buchthal, *An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of about 1100 A.D.* (Melbourne, 1961); *Byzantine Art, an European Art* (*supra*, note 4), nos. 311 and 316; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, note 7), 193, 251 note 45, 253 note 51. Anderson, "An Examination," 251, proposes a mid-century date for the Melbourne Gospels; the Venetian codex he relegates to the provinces.

⁵⁵ S. Amiranašvili, *Gruzinskaja Miniatjura* (Moscow, 1966), pl. 31.

⁵⁶ V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966), 99-107, 247-49.

of Urbin. gr. 2's two fellows, Patmos 274, and the Codex Ebnerianus.⁵⁷ The Evangelist portraits of the Melbourne Gospels have not survived. Those of Venice Z 540 (fig. 9), however, do survive and show a marked similarity to the portraits of Barb. gr. 449. The figures are strongly silhouetted, their emphatic contours traced in a single plane. The furniture and background buildings are compressed onto this plane, and the repetition of the buildings' colors in the colors of the Evangelists' garments bind figure and setting into a decorative pattern. The flattened settings, the forceful contours, the long-waisted, lean-thighed figure proportions, and the dry, summary linearity in the drapery surfaces reveal a kinship with the Vatican 449 miniatures that goes well beyond the parallels offered by the Urbin. gr. 2 group, and so makes more tangible the likelihood that Manuel's books were a production of mid-twelfth-century art. The Venetian Evangelists lack only the centrality within their compositions which gives the Vatican ones such decorative authority. This is a stylization not found in metropolitan manuscripts. It appears, however, in a number of less cosmopolitan examples, including Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Suppl. graec. 52; Vatican, graecus 1533; Manchester, John Rylands Library, 13; and Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, 8.⁵⁸ If the specific vocabulary of motifs in Manuel's miniatures cannot be paralleled elsewhere, then the type of composition that they use and the abstract, ornamental principles that they adhere to can be seen in manuscripts of the mid-twelfth century.

The evidence of the books' ornament is more concrete than that of their figure style. An expanded use of ornament had been a key feature of mid-twelfth-century illumination. Many of the motifs that characterized this expansion can be found in the Barberini Tetraevangelion, and all but one of the motifs used in the Barberini Tetraevangelion can be paralleled in the Codex Ebnerianus alone. This particular motif—the lattice of little flowers in which the lines of the lattice are drawn in—has not so far turned up in any metropolitan manuscript, but it does appear in a variety of pro-

vincial ones, including Mt. Athos, Panteleimon, 2,⁵⁹ and, perhaps more significantly, the Palestinian Garrett 3 of 1136 (fig. 22). All of the individual motifs making up the ornament of Manuel's manuscripts, then, were current in the mid-twelfth century.

More important than these motifs themselves is the way in which they have been used. Interestingly, this is the only aspect of the Vatican Tetraevangelion that has drawn a specific challenge to the date given in the colophon. Alison Frantz, struck by the contrast between the manuscript's colophon and its customary thirteenth-century attribution, pointed to the large, coarse scale of the ornament in the frames around Mark, Luke, and John as being inconsistent with twelfth-century usage (fig. 7).⁶⁰ There is no question but that the standard Comnenian ornament is more finely textured. Yet the early twelfth-century headpieces of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément grec 1262 of 1101, and Harvard, Houghton 3 of 1105, the vine-scrolls of Sinai 339 (fol. 91^r), the Marcan headpiece of Venice Z 540 (fol. 90^r), and the frame around Jude in the Codex Eberianus (fol. 310^r) make it quite plain that big, even blowsy palmettes were no rarity in the entire first half of the twelfth century.⁶¹ The amalgamation of concentric ornamental bands into unified, expansive patterns is, in fact, a hallmark of Comnenian ornament as a whole: the ornamental frames in the Codex Ebnerianus; Sinai 339; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 550; and Mt. Sinai, 412 offer ample evidence.⁶² In fact, the broad, ornamental picture frame is in itself a Comnenian phenomenon, seen in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément grec 27, Vatican, graecus 1156 and Urbin. gr. 2, and culminating in the middle period of the century in Paris 550 and Sinai 339 and 412. It was not popular in the thirteenth century. Thus the broad frames with their weedy palmettes are more compatible with the mid-twelfth

⁵⁹ P. Huber, *Athos: Leben, Glaube, Kunst* (Zurich, 1969), fig. 88.

⁶⁰ A. Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament," *ArtB*, 16 (1934), 72.

⁶¹ For Paris, suppl. gr. 1262, and Harvard, Houghton 3, see L. Nees, "An Illuminated Byzantine Psalter at Harvard University," *DOP*, 29 (1975), pls. 2, 7, 9; and J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1957), fig. 164. For Mt. Sinai, 339, fol. 91^r, see Galavaris, *Illustrations* (*supra*, note 44), pl. LXXX, fig. 384. For the Jude in the Codex Ebnerianus, see K. Weitzmann, "An Illustrated Greek New Testament of the Tenth Century in the Walters Art Gallery," *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner* (Baltimore, n.d.), pl. 19.

⁶² Galavaris, *Illustrations*, 255–58, pls. LXXIV–LXXXIV; 242–45, pls. LXXXV–XCIV; J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 5 (Princeton, 1954), 87–104, pls. LVII–LXXVII.

⁵⁷ M. Chatzidakis and A. Grabar, *Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting* (New York, 1965), pl. 89.

⁵⁸ For Vienna, suppl. gr. 52, see *Byzantine Art, an European Art*, no. 297; and P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, II: *Die Handschriften des 10. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, IV, 4 (Leipzig, 1938), 50–58, pls. xxiii–xxvii. For Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, 8, see G. A. Soteriou, *Κεφάλια τοῦ Οἰκουµενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (Athens, 1938), 86–92, pls. 60–62, 64a.

century than with any other period and provide a strong support for the dates given in Manuel's colophons. Comparably strong bonds with the twelfth century can be found for the Vatican manuscript's Matthean headpiece with its medallion portraits of the Pantocrator and the four Evangelists (fig. 37). Seen already in such eleventh-century books as Moscow, Historical Museum, gr. 13; Vatican, Palatinus graecus 189; and Dumbarton Oaks, 3 (1084),⁶³ the medallion portrait of the Pantocrator became more widespread in twelfth-century codices; it is seen in Athens, National Library, 68; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 522; Chicago, University Library, 131; London, British Library, Egerton 2163; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarke 10; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 81; and Toronto, University Library, codex de Ricci 1.⁶⁴ In four of these—Oxford, London, Chicago, and Paris—Christ is surrounded by subsidiary figures as he is in Barb. gr. 449. More extraordinary are the Canon Tables in this codex (fig. 39). Their flamboyant tops, instead of conforming to the regular geometric contours customary in Byzantine ornament, break out into freely formed curves and countercurves. Cavorting animals sport over the tops. This kind of Canon Table carries over into the entire decorative style group, becoming more flamboyant as it goes (fig. 40). It is not found outside of this group. Exuberant if not actually baroque Canon Tables and the decorative use of varied and vigorous animals are part and parcel of mid-twelfth-century ornament, however; one has only to point out the Canon Tables of Venice Z 540 and Sinai 157, and the stalking beasts of varied breed in the headpieces of Paris 550.⁶⁵ These fanciful animals often migrate into the initials, and historiated initials become a major mid-twelfth-century delectation—the historiated initials of Manuel's New York Gospels find confrères in Sinai 339 and Paris 550.⁶⁶ Thus the beasts and drolleries of Manuel's books and the extrava-

gance, if not the freely formed shapes, of their Canon Tables can all find a ready context in the period cited in the colophons. More positively than the miniatures, the ornament of Manuel's books validates the date of his colophons.

The metropolitan parallels, encouraging as they are in themselves, do not explain many specific features of Manuel's miniatures. The metropolitan compositions are decorative, but they are not deliberately flat like those in Manuel's books and their associates; the color schemes are ornamental but not pinkish and pastel; the Canon Tables are extravagant but not freely formed and baroque; and there are no counterparts outside their own circle for the smooth modeling of the Vatican miniatures or the wild architecture of the New York ones. These features, rather than being indicative of the books' date, may instead be indicative of the place in which they were made, and so turn attention to the local information given in Manuel's colophons.

Among dated twelfth-century manuscripts with illuminations, those from Palestine assume an unexpected prominence. No fewer than three dated books were illuminated there. Garrett 3, made in the monastery of St. Sabas in 1136, preserves its Canon Tables, its portraits of Mark and John, and its headpieces, of which the Matthean contains an image of the Nativity flanked by a prophet (fig. 26).⁶⁷ Anastaseos 9, in Jerusalem, made for and probably in Tiberias in Galilee in 1152, contains a full-page icon of the enthroned Virgin Tiberiadissa with the patron or the painter, Gerasimos the Monk, crouched at her feet; originally it also had a portrait of St. John the Evangelist and a headpiece with a bust of the Pantocrator.⁶⁸ Sinai 220, finally, made in Bethlehem in 1167, is illuminated only with an underdrawing for a huge carpet headpiece containing a medallion bust of the Pantocrator.⁶⁹ This trio expands if one adds three intimate paleographic relatives of Anastaseos 9: Ann Arbor, University Library, 171,⁷⁰ and Saba 40 and Taphou 55, both in the Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem.⁷¹ Ann Arbor 171 and Sabas 40

⁶³S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 19 (1965), fig. 7.

⁶⁴For Athens, Nat. Lib., 68, fols. 2^r and 89^r, see P. Buberl, *Die Miniaturhandschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Athen* (Vienna, 1917), pl. xxiii, fig. 58 and pl. xxiv, fig. 62. For Walters Art Gallery 522, see Buchthal, *Miniature Painting* (*supra*, note 33), pl. 141e. For Paris, gr. 81, see K. and S. Lake, V, pls. 308–9. For the manuscript in Toronto, see *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections* (*supra*, note 33), no. 27, fig. 47.

⁶⁵For Venice 540, see Buchthal, *An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book* (*supra*, note 54), figs. 2, 4; for Paris 550, see Galavaris, *Illustrations*, pl. xc, figs. 411–12 and pl. xci, fig. 413.

⁶⁶A. Grabar associates this vogue with western influence: see *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IX^e-XI^e siècles)*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 8 (Paris, 1972), 96–98.

⁶⁷See *supra*, note 33.

⁶⁸See *supra*, note 26.

⁶⁹See *supra*, note 27.

⁷⁰K. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 329–30.

⁷¹For Saba 40, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Βιβλιοθήκη (*supra*, note 26), II, 83–84. For Taphou 55, see *ibid.*, I, 137–38; and A. Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter: The State of Research," *XV^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines. Rapports et co-rapports*, III: *Art et archéologie* (Athens, 1976), 253–55, pl. LVI, figs. 9–10.

are Lectionaries with one huge carpet headpiece; Taphou 55 is a Psalter preserving its initial headpiece, medallion portraits of Habakkuk, Isaiah, and Jonah, a miniature of the Hebrews in the Furnace, and a full-page dedication picture showing one Matthew the Monk at the feet of a statuesque standing Virgin.⁷² This cluster of illuminated books makes it clear that the monasteries, or in any case the monks, of Palestine were artistically active in the twelfth century and capable of carrying out, on a rudimentary level at least, the creation of pictured books. No comparable manuscript evidence from Cyprus is known, and it is only in the fourteenth century that one begins to find illuminated Cypriot books.⁷³ Cyprus does, however, preserve the largest surviving complex of early twelfth-century Byzantine wall painting.⁷⁴ In the one instance of St. Chrysostom, these paintings were done by imported masters of cosmopolitan caliber.⁷⁵ The majority, however, including cycles at Asinou of 1106 (fig. 42), the Apsinthiotissa, and Trikomo, and some mural icons at St. Nicholas *tēs Stēgēs*, were clearly done by a provincial shop.⁷⁶ The origin and extent of this workshop's activity are of great interest. Kurt Weitzmann has shown that its style is closely akin to that of a group of icons on Mt. Sinai as well as to that of the Evangelist portraits in a group of three monumental Lectionaries.⁷⁷ At least one of

the icons was surely made at Mt. Sinai and one of the Lectionaries has close ties with Antioch.⁷⁸ Thus, the workshop or its style may have been based more broadly than on Cyprus alone. Whether or not the shop or its style were native to Cyprus, however, its extensive work there indicates that artistic activity was going on and was available to the island's remarkably rapidly growing monasteries if they chose to use it.⁷⁹ Palestine, too, apparently, sustained a mural art in the twelfth century. Along with the mosaics and wall paintings in the great pilgrimage churches, Manuel Comnenus is known to have sponsored the rebuilding of Greek monasteries in Palestine.⁸⁰ In some cases, as shown by the inscription at the Calamon monastery, he entrusted the work of restoration to the overseership of the local hegumen;⁸¹ the surviving frescoes at SS. John and George at Choziba bespeak such a local origin.⁸² The tenuously preserved wall paintings at the Benedictine church at Abu Ghosh, on the other hand, reflect the presence of a very fine group of

⁷² This miniature, on fol. 260^r, must show the manuscript's donor. As such, it deserves to join the Chicago subgroup's Benaki Psalter in P. L. Vocotopoulos' recent list of miniatures showing donor monks, given in "Ενα άγνωστο χειρόγραφο του κωδικογράφου Ἰωάσαφ καὶ οἱ μικρογράφεες τοῦ, in Δελτ. Χρυστ. Αρχ. Έτ., 4, 8 (1976), 179–95. The devotional theme that shapes so much of the illumination in the Chicago subgroup's members, and that must account to a large extent for its manufacture, comes out especially strongly in the Psalters.

⁷³ On Cypriot illumination, see C. Havice, "The Hamilton Psalter in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 9" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State Univ., 1978).

⁷⁴ D. C. Winfield and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of Our Lady at Asinou, Cyprus. A Report of the Seasons of 1965 and 1966," *DOP*, 21 (1967), 260–66; M. Sacopoulou, *Asinou en 1106 et sa contribution à l'iconographie* (Brussels, 1966); A. Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1965); A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1964); C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 333–40.

⁷⁵ Mango and Hawkins, "Fieldwork."

⁷⁶ D. C. Winfield, "Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou. Byzantine Painters at Work," *Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, II (Nicosia, 1972), 285–92; S. Boyd, "Stylistic Trends in Cypriot Wall Painting of the Twelfth Century," paper presented at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C., 12 May 1978.

⁷⁷ K. Weitzmann, "A Group of Early Twelfth-Century Icons Attributed to Cyprus," *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh, 1975), 47–63.

⁷⁸ The Lectionaries include: Mt. Athos, Koutlouloumou, 61; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 532; and Mt. Sinai, 208. For Koutlouloumou 61, see S. M. Pelekanidis *et al.*, *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, I: *The Protaton and the Monasteries of Dionysiou, Koutlouloumou, Xeropotamou and Gregorion* (Athens, 1974), pls. 300–4. On the manuscript's Antiochene connections, see G. Mercati, "Origine antiochena di due codici greci del secolo XI," *AnalBoll*, 68 (1950), 210–20. The inscriptions noted by Mercati belong to the eleventh century, a date seldom admitted for the miniatures. Unfortunately, Pelekanides casts no light on the codicological relationship of the miniatures to the manuscript. Another of the manuscripts commissioned by the patron of Koutlouloumou 61, Paris, gr. 164, was in Cyprus in the later Middle Ages: see Darrouzès, "Les manuscrits originaux de Chypre" (*supra*, note 24), 169. On Walters Art Gallery 532, see *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections* (*supra*, note 33), no. 43. This book was in Jerusalem in 1542. On Sinai 208, see Weitzmann, "A Group of Early Twelfth-Century Icons," 59 and pl. 25.

⁷⁹ J. Darrouzès, "Le mouvement des fondations monastiques au XI^e siècle," *TM*, 6 (1976), 167–68, lists four major monasteries founded in the years around 1100: St. Chrysostom at Koutsoumendi (1090), the Theotokos of Kykkos (associated with Boutoumites), the Theotokos of Phorbia (1099), and the Theotokos Alypos (1091). G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I (Cambridge, 1940), 309–10, lists as twelfth-century foundations the large monasteries of Machairas, the Chrysorrhagiatissa (1152), and the Enkleistra of St. Neophytos (1167). J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1910), 355, adds St. Mamas at Morphou (ca. 1190) and the Troöditissa (ca. 1200).

⁸⁰ J. Folda, "Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *A History of the Crusades*, IV: *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard (Madison, Wis., 1977), 251–80; T. S. R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," *ibid.*, 69–139.

⁸¹ S. Vaihle, "Les laures de Saint-Gérasime et du Calamon," *EO*, 2 (1898–99), 116.

⁸² O. Meinardus, "Wall Paintings in the Monastic Churches of Judaea," *OrChr*, 50 (1966), 46.

Byzantine painters in Palestine;⁸³ Runciman suggests that they had come under Manuel's auspices to decorate the Greek monastery of St. Euthymius.⁸⁴ Thus Cyprus and Palestine present a modest but plausibly active artistic environment in the mid-twelfth century.⁸⁵

The initial impression produced by the Palestinian manuscripts is extraordinarily positive. Their ornament is their most prominent form of illumination, and it is markedly close to that in Manuel Hagiostephanites' manuscripts. This is particularly true of the headpieces. Though the medallion portrait of the Pantocrator was not an unusual motif in twelfth-century illumination, its incorporation into something so strongly reminiscent of a carpet headpiece as the Matthean headpiece in Barberini 449 is less common. It did appear, however, in three of the Palestinian manuscripts already cited: Anastaseos 9 (from which the relevant page was cut after Papadopoulos-Kerameus described it in 1898), Sinai 220, and Ann Arbor 171. The headpiece in Sinai 220 was merely drawn, probably by Basil himself, and never painted. The carpet in Anastaseos 9 was surely painted; its character can be extrapolated from those in its paleographic siblings, Ann Arbor 171, Taphou 55, and Saba 40. In all three the magenta color scheme and weedy foliage recall Barb. gr. 449, and in the Ann Arbor Lectionary the carpet contains the busts of the Pantocrator and the four Evangelists (fig. 38), just as the Vatican example does. The kinship is remarkable. The only Canon Tables securely attributable to twelfth-century Palestine are those in Garrett 3 (fig. 41). They are more modest than those of Manuel's Tetraevangelion. But they are, interestingly, of irregular shape. Their nongeometric contours require flexible filler motifs, and the meandering vine scrolls and rudimentary foliage that are used recall the weedy, flexible ornament of the Vatican manuscript. Colors, motifs, and organization of the ornament in the Palestinian manuscripts, then, offer close parallels with the manuscripts of Manuel's group.

⁸³ Folda, "Painting and Sculpture," 259–61.

⁸⁴ S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III (Cambridge, 1952), 381.

⁸⁵ Mango painted a very dismal picture of Cyprus during the twelfth century in his "Chypre, carrefour du monde byzantin," *XV^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines. Rapports et co-rapports*, V. *Chypre dans le monde byzantin* (Athens, 1976), section 5. He makes it look very probable that the island did not have developed cities. The expansion of monasteries, however, points to a real vitality in the sphere likely to have produced books.

The figure style in the Palestinian manuscripts is at first sight disappointing. It is derivative, undistinguished, and diverse. To the extent that it has a common theme, it is the derivative abrasion of standard Comnenian models. Certainly it has none of the decorative, highly patterned abstraction that gives the miniatures in Manuel's books their distinction and interest. This is particularly true of Garrett 3, the most pretentious and least coherent of the group (fig. 22).⁸⁶ The miniature in Anastaseos 9 is simpler and uses a hot, purplish color scheme, but it is copied from a particular icon and so has its own stylistic conditioning.⁸⁷ In Taphou 55 (fig. 57), on the other hand, one does find a series of forms which recalls those in the Chicago subgroup.⁸⁸ The broad, simplified figures with facile, magenta underdrawings and chalky, pastel pigments that have flaked badly are technically very close to those of the Chicago subgroup. Even here one does not find the smooth modeling, the decorative, centralized compositions, and the wild architecture that have made the New York and Barberini miniatures so hard to integrate into the mainstream of Byzantine art. One notes with great interest, however, that Papadopoulos-Kerameus went out of his way to describe the John of Anastaseos 9 as sitting in front of architecture.⁸⁹

The only other index to figure style in this area is the manner seen in the early twelfth-century Cypriot wall paintings. Its origin, as noted, is fraught with complications. As a style, it is decorative and abstract (fig. 42).⁹⁰ Figures are reduced to a few blunt, simplified shapes, sharply traced in closed contours on the picture plane. Colors are used in fairly abstract ways—pale and pastel on the highlighted surfaces, they often appear unadulterated in bands of lower value around the waist and along the hems of the himatia. Heads are large with clearly traced features that often include a "v" at the root of the nose. These schematized and rhythmic forms are displayed in front of flat, ornate buildings, forming decorative, relief-like compositions. Essentially, this style is an effective simplification of the early Comnenian art found in St. Chrysostom. As such, it is a little treacherous to handle: it risks

⁸⁶ See *supra*, note 33.

⁸⁷ K. and S. Lake, I, MS 11, pl. 20.

⁸⁸ Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter" (*supra*, note 71), pl. LVI, figs. 9 and 10.

⁸⁹ See *supra*, note 26.

⁹⁰ Winfield and Hawkins, "The Church of Our Lady at Asinou" (*supra*, note 74); Sacopoulou, *Asinou en 1106* (*supra*, note 74), pls. VI–VII.

becoming a *passe-partout*, associated with any and all of the other Comnenian manners of which it might equally well be supposed to represent a simplification. It is, accordingly, with some care that one notes the existence of a clear kinship between the Cypriot wall paintings and the miniatures in Manuel's books. The strong, planar contours, the smooth, pastel surfaces, the abstract areas of lighter and darker color, and the rhythmic, patterned compositions are common to both. They share a decorative schematization that has been hard to parallel elsewhere.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the Cypriot murals and Palestinian miniatures are limited but interesting. The least equivocal of them is chronological. The types of ornament in the Palestinian books, the technique and color scheme of Taphou 55, and above all the decoratively schematized style in the wall paintings of Cyprus indicate together that the art seen in Manuel's books was entirely possible in the period he specifies. Whether the stylizations in his miniatures derive from those of the Cypriot murals or simply constitute another instance in which current Comnenian forms were schematized in a decorative way, these things had already happened in the twelfth century. Such a chronological reading of the evidence entails, in turn, certain conclusions about locale. The decorative stylization of the miniatures, the weedy schematization of the ornament, the unusual irregularity of the Canon Tables are all things that belong in the provincial realm in the mid-twelfth century; it is here that they can be paralleled. Of the areas offering material for comparison, that of Palestine and the islands, especially Cyprus, has been most forthcoming. There can be no doubt that mural paintings and illuminated manuscripts were being made there. Given the testimony of Manuel's name, patron, and script; given the full plausibility of his manuscripts' twelfth-century date when Cypro-Palestinian material was so extensive, it becomes altogether probable that his books were produced in the area of Cyprus or Palestine.

Stylistic Evidence: The Later Manuscripts of the Chicago Subgroup

The validation of Manuel's mid-twelfth-century date demands, in turn, that the remainder of the Chicago subgroup be fitted into the twelfth century. The generation into which the Chicago subgroup should fall is one of the most enigmatic in Middle Byzantine illumination. At the begin-

ning of this period Constantinople was vigorously active, but by the end the thread of metropolitan production has become lost. Manuscripts adhering to the recognized conventions of Constantinopolitan art cease to exist after the 1170s,⁹¹ and there are no colophons or inscriptions indicating that some new or different set of conventions had become established there. The generation offers two dated manuscripts of sufficient quality to be informative. One, a Tetraevangelion in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément grec 612, is securely dated by a colophon of 1164.⁹² It preserves three large, rather coarse Evangelist portraits. The other, Barberinianus graecus 320 in the Vatican, is a Psalter of outstanding elegance (fig. 43).⁹³ Its date of 1177, given only in a later inscription recording a now lost colophon, has been questioned in the light of its miniatures' deep, almost intransigent conservatism. Nonetheless, its miniatures share significant features with the Evangelist portraits in the Paris codex—an expanded scale, a heightened tension, and an emphasis on contour lines and the patterns they make on the picture plane—which tend to confirm the date quoted in the inscription. The enlarged scale is best seen in the Anointing of David (fol. 1^v) and the Transmission of the Law (fol. 112^r), where the core segments of traditionally more populous compositions have been excerpted and enlarged to fill the whole frame. The magisterial figure of Samuel anointing David illustrates most clearly the linear continuity of the outlines. This linear emphasis is accompanied, in turn, by a vibrant formal tension that finds a counterpart in the expressive, sharp-eyed face. Looking back to the metropolitan manuscripts of the middle of the century, these features take on a familiar ring. These same elements had played a formative role in the Urbin. gr. 2 group at that time. They have become yet more pronounced in the interim.

Very much the same qualities, moreover, of heightened scale, heightened energy, and a more effective use of surface pattern, had distinguished the miniatures of the Paris New Testament and Psalter from those of Manuel's manuscripts. A comparison of Barb. gr. 320 or Suppl. gr. 612 with

⁹¹ Buchthal, "Stylistic Trends in Byzantine Illumination" (*supra*, note 2).

⁹² *Byzance et la France médiévale* (*supra*, note 7), no. 45; Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (*supra*, note 61), 128, pl. 169; K. and S. Lake, V, MS 189, pls. 320–21.

⁹³ M. Bonicatti, "Un Salterio greco miniato del periodo comneno," *Bollettino dell'Archivio paleografico italiano*, N.S. 2–3, 1 (1956–57), 117–28; K. and S. Lake, VIII, MS 325, pl. 593.

one of the Evangelists in Venice Z 540 or Urbin. gr. 2 (figs. 9, 43) produces much the same result as a comparison of the Paris New Testament and Psalter with the Barberini Tetraevangelion (figs. 3, 11). The figures have become larger, more stringently patterned and more intense. The handsome Matthew in the Paris New Testament and Psalter is more effectively patterned than the Mark in Suppl. gr. 612; decorative composition had been a forte of the Chicago subgroup from the beginning, however, and the miniature need not be much later than that of 1164. This is endorsed by the Samuel in Barb. gr. 320, painted in 1177. The blatant patterning of Matthew looks naive next to the taut complexity of the Samuel's drapery folds. Nonetheless, the two reflect a common kind of organization, with individuated areas of powerful relief set one after another in a scaffolding of patterned contours. This suggests that they belong to much the same period. Such an attribution is confirmed by the close kinship of the figure of Matthew to the dynamic, sleek-surfaced, and emphatically outlined figures of Perachorio on Cyprus (fig. 44).⁹⁴ The wall paintings of Perachorio are undated, but they are customarily lodged in the 1170s between Nerezi of 1164 and Monreale of the 1180s. A similar date in the 1170s seems equally plausible for the Paris New Testament and Psalter.

An attribution of the Paris codex to the 1170s would, in turn, put Chicago 965, too, into the years around 1170, while Palermo and Leningrad 105 (figs. 13, 14) would take places somewhat later. Any precise assessment of their date is difficult, since dated manuscripts marking off the direction and pace of metropolitan illumination in the last quarter of the century no longer exist. The Vani Gospels, decorated by a Greek painter in Constantinople sometime between 1184 and 1213, are indicative only of a persistent conservatism.⁹⁵ The testimony of monumental painting is voluminous but has proved notoriously difficult to interpret.⁹⁶ Moreover, the pictures in Leningrad 105 and Palermo 4 do not immediately resemble the monu-

mental works; they lack the attenuated, ropy convolutions of the twelfth-century "dynamic style."⁹⁷ Except in color scheme, they don't even look very much like each other. What they do share, however, is an inflated figure scale and a tendency to integrate the individual pockets of implied relief in the figure into a broader, more embracing scheme. This integration differentiates them from the figures of the Paris New Testament and Psalter; it also distinguishes them from the Samuel of Barb. gr. 320. Very much the same contrast can, in fact, be found in monumental painting when one turns to the works of the 1180s. Seen in the light of the figure of John in the Communion of the Apostles at Perachorio (fig. 44), both the Angel of the Annunciation at the Enclistra of St. Neophytus of 1183 (fig. 45) and the Heavenly Host of the Second Day of Creation in Monreale of the 1180s (fig. 46), for all their differences, are notable for their inflated scale and the fluent continuity of their relief.⁹⁸ One could never imply that the gauche and congested surfaces of the Evangelists in Leningrad 105 had been touched by the porcelain elegance of the Enclistra's Gabriel-on-rollers, or that the ugly, cursive modeling of Palermo 4 had been influenced by the superabundant, operatic impetuosity of Monreale. Each in its own terms, however, is moving in the direction of a broader, more unified treatment of the figure. Thus, while it remains as difficult as ever to derive the forms in the Chicago subgroup from any specific works of the twelfth century that are known, they do settle into comfortable parallel with broader patterns of stylistic development, and it seems altogether plausible to lodge Leningrad 105 and Palermo 4 in the 1180s. With this, the sequence is complete, and the Chicago subgroup takes a place in the crowded generation after Manuel's manuscripts of the 1150s.

Iconographic Evidence: The Later Manuscripts of the Chicago Subgroup

An iconographic validation of the Chicago subgroup's twelfth-century date is more complex than its stylistic confirmation. This is especially true of the Gospel imagery shared by its members. That their style should have found accommodation in

⁹⁴ A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and Its Frescoes," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 277–348.

⁹⁵ See *supra*, note 55.

⁹⁶ L. Hadermann-Misguisch, "La peinture monumentale tardocomnène et ses prolongements au XIII^e siècle," *XV^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines. Rapports et co-rapports*, III: *Art et archéologie* (Athens, 1976), 97–127; O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," *Berichte zum XI. internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, IV (Munich, 1958), section 2.

⁹⁷ E. Kitzinger, "Byzantium and the West in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century: Problems of Stylistic Relationship," *Gesta*, 9,2 (1970), 49.

⁹⁸ C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytus and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, 20 (1966), fig. 73; E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), pl. 5.

the twelfth century is not entirely surprising, since its Comnenian character had been emphasized already in the group's initial publication. The format and iconography of the Gospel cycle, on the other hand, were held up in evidence against the style and associated instead with the Palaeologan period.⁹⁹ There is much to be said for this association. In four major respects the cycle aligns itself closely with Palaeologan usage. The great length of the Gospel cycle and its emphasis on the miracles and ministry of Christ can be paralleled in the monumental cycles of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond, the Metropole at Mistra, and the esonarthex of the Kariye Camii in Constantinople,¹⁰⁰ as well as in the illuminations of Mt. Athos, Iviron, 5; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 54; and the Georgian Mokwi Gospels (Tbilisi, Manuscript Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R., codex Q 902) of 1300/1.¹⁰¹ The cycle's separately framed format is rare in Middle Byzantine Gospel illumination, but recurs in all three of the Paleologan manuscripts. The fact that the cycle occurs in Tetraevangelia is again significant: extensive Middle Byzantine Gospel cycles appear most often in Lectionaries, but the three Paleologan examples are all in Tetraevangelia.¹⁰² Several of the cycle's most striking images, too, are best known in the Paleo-

logian period, among others especially the two half-length icons in Leningrad 105, the Simeon Glykophilon, and the Man of Sorrows.¹⁰³ In each of these respects, the Gospel cycle of the Chicago subgroup would seem to find its most congenial harbor in the Paleologan period.

The problems presented by the Gospel cycle are too extensive to be handled fully here. Nonetheless, answers can be given to the four points listed above. Extensive Christological cycles emphasizing miracles and the ministry of Christ, though best known in the Palaeologan period, are not unknown in Middle Byzantium; in the Middle Byzantine period, moreover, they are concentrated in the second half of the twelfth century. The most striking example is Monreale, of the 1180s, where the aisles are mosaicked with twenty-three miracle scenes.¹⁰⁴ Miracle scenes appear in fair number also in Pskov, of 1156; in the north transept of San Marco at Venice, in the third quarter of the century; and in the work of Eulais at the Apostoleion in Constantinople itself.¹⁰⁵ They intrude, too, into the far smaller and more limited cycles of the Anargyroi at Kastoria and the Theotokos chapel at Patmos.¹⁰⁶ Monumental cycles thus suggest a gen-

⁹⁹ Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (supra, note 3) III; Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (supra, note 4), II.

¹⁰⁰ Talbot Rice, *The Church of Hagia Sophia* (supra, note 11); S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques, 4 (Paris, 1970), 7; G. Millet, *Monuments byzantines de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pls. 64–87; P. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I and II (New York, 1966).

¹⁰¹ For Iviron 5, see S. M. Pelekanidis et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts, II: The Monasteries of Iviron, St. Panteleimon, Esphigmenou, and Chilandari* (Athens, 1975), figs. 11–40; and Huber, *Athos* (supra, note 59), 243–54 and figs. 137–52. For Paris 54, see Lazarev, *Storia* (supra, note 7), 280–81, pls. 384–94; and H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), pls. xc–xcvi. For the Mokwi Gospels, see V. Lazarev, “Novyj Pamjatnik Konstantinopol'skoj Miniatury XIII V.,” *VizVrem*, N.S. 5 (1952), pls. 14–16.

¹⁰² Among surviving Byzantine New Testament texts of the tenth through the thirteenth centuries, only thirty contain more than six scenes: Leningrad, Saltykov-Scedrin Pub. Lib., gr. 21*; Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 115; and Patmos, 70* of the ninth and tenth centuries; Mt. Athos, Dionysiu, 587*; New York, Morgan Lib., 639*; Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 74; Venice, Lectionary in San Giorgio dei Greci*; Vienna, Nationalbibl., Theol. gr. 154; Vatican, gr. 1156*; and Mt. Athos, Iviron, 1* of the eleventh century; Parma, palat. gr. 5; Florence, Bibl. Laur., Plut. VI.23; Mt. Athos, Panteleimon 2*; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 27*; New York, Morgan Lib., 692*; Istanbul, Patriarchal Lib., 3 and 8; Athens, Nat. Lib., 93; and the inserted miniatures in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 914 from the twelfth century; Athens, Byz. Mus., 820; Berlin, Staatsbibl., qu. 66; Chicago, Univ. Lib., 965; Kiev, Academy

of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., A 25; Leningrad, Saltykov-Scedrin Pub. Lib., gr. 105; Leyden, Univ. Lib., gronov. 137; London, Brit. Lib., Harley 1810; Mytilene, Lib. of Boys' Gymnasium, 9; and the initial cycle of Cologne, Schnütgen Mus., Ludwig II 5, from the decorative style group; and Iviron, 5, Paris, gr. 54, and the later cycle of Ludwig II 5 from the second half of the thirteenth century. (Lectionaries have been indicated with asterisk.)

¹⁰³ These icons are on fols. 65^v, 114^r, and 167^v. On the Man of Sorrows, see most recently H. Belting, “An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium,” *DOP*, 34–35 (1980–81), 1–16; T. Dobrzeniecki, “Imago Pietatis. Its Meaning and Function,” *Bulletin of the National Museum of Warsaw*, 12 (1971), 5–27; J. Stubblebine, “Segna di Bonaventura and the Image of the Man of Sorrows,” *Gesta*, 8 (1969), 3–13; S. Dufrenne, “Images du décor de la prothèse,” *REB*, 26 (1968), 297–310; C. Bertelli, “The Image of Pity in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme,” *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London, 1967), 40–55; D. I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus—das Bild*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 2 (Munich, 1965); H. Belting, “Byzantinische Kunst als europäische Kunst. IX. Ausstellung des Europarates in Athen,” *Kunstchronik*, 17 (1964), 240; R. Bauerreis, “HO BASILEUS TES DOXES, Ein frühes eucharistisches Bild und seine Auswirkung,” *Pro Mundi Vita*, Festschrift zum eucharistischen Weltkongress (Munich, 1960), 49 ff.; W. Mersmann, *Der Schmerzensmann* (Düsseldorf, 1952).

¹⁰⁴ Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (supra, note 98), xii–xiv; Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (supra, note 43), 276–82.

¹⁰⁵ Lazarev, *Storia* (supra, note 7), 227; see also supra, note 56; O. Demus, *Die Mosaiken von San Marco in Venedig* (Vienna, 1935); G. Downey, “Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,” *TAPS*, N.S. 47,6 (1957), 878–79, 887–89.

¹⁰⁶ S. Pelekanides, *Καστοριά* (Thessaloniki, 1953), pl. 30; A. Orlandos, *Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική καὶ αἱ Βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι τῆς*

uine expansion of interest in Gospel narrative in the twelfth century.

Manuscripts corroborate this expansion, though surviving evidence is scarce. Only a very small roster of twelfth-century Gospel cycles survives: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément grec 27, of the early twelfth century; Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, 8, of the mid-century, and 3, of about 1170; and Athens, National Library, 93, of about 1170–90.¹⁰⁷ Mt. Athos, Panteleimon, 2; New York, Morgan Library, 692; Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. VI.23; and Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, palatinus graecus 5 are all gathered around 1100 and may fall on one side or the other of that year.¹⁰⁸ Berlin, gr. quarto 66, made before 1219, may belong in the early thirteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Despite their limited number, these books are informative. One notes that Lectionary texts are concentrated in the century's early years, while the later manuscripts—Istanbul 3, Athens 93, and Berlin, Staatsbib. gr. quarto 66—are all Gospel Books. Of the five manuscripts clustered in the early twelfth century, moreover, two are Gospel Books, an unusually high proportion when seen in the light of eleventh-century illumination. Among the twelfth-century cycles, that in Athens 93 is exceptionally long, with twenty

scenes, and it uses a simple, separately framed format with scenes of one episode only inserted into the text beside or below the relevant passage. The same format appears in the thirty-three scene cycle of Berlin quarto 66. This format had been used, too, in the lengthy Kokkinobaphus cycles of the 1130s and '40s.¹¹⁰ In itself it was hardly new. It had characterized most illuminated texts in which individual books, chapters, or lections were prefaced by pictures, and it had become more diffused in this context during the twelfth century, emerging in the Climacus cycle in Vatican, graecus 394, in the Acts of the Apostles in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 533, and Mt. Sinai, 275.¹¹¹ In a purely narrative context, however, this format was far rarer, surviving before the twelfth century only in the Octateuchs. In the twelfth century the narrative use of this format seems to have burgeoned, a conclusion substantiated not only by the Gospel and Kokkinobaphus manuscripts just cited, but by the plethora of icons showing the image of a saint surrounded by scenes of his life.¹¹² In the Kokkinobaphus cycles the virtue of the separately framed format was clearly dramatic, permitting the illuminator to tell his story in terms of individually distinguished dramatic episodes.¹¹³ In Athens 93, where no dramatic rationale unites the miniatures, the aim seems more to have been devotional, allowing the placement of self-contained images for contemplation at points of affective interest.¹¹⁴ The two aims are not necessarily convergent, but both are affective, and it must have been this intention that recommended the use of the separately framed format. Thus it seems to have been the twelfth century itself that saw the transition from Lectionary to Gospel Book, from liturgical or continuous cycles to selective cycles closely tied to the Gospel narrative of Christ's ministry and Passion, and, concomitantly, from unframed marginal or frieze-like pictures to cycles of separately framed compositions. In each of these respects, the second half of the twelfth century comes to offer a receptive home to the cycles of the Chicago subgroup.

In the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament

Μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου (Athens, 1970), figs. 1, 8, 9, 36b, 37.

¹⁰⁷ On Paris, Suppl. gr. 27, see *Byzance et la France médiévale* (*supra*, note 7), no. 41, pl. xix; and Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs* (*supra*, note 101), pls. xcvi–c. On Istanbul 3 and 8, see Nelson, "Text and Image" (*supra*, note 2), *passim*; and Soteriou, *Κεφάλαια* (*supra*, note 58), 70–92, pls. 46–59, 60–2, 64a. On Athens, Natl. Lib. 93, see *Byzantine Art, an European Art* (*supra*, note 4), no. 317; Buberl, *Die Miniaturhandschriften* (*supra*, note 64), 16–17, figs. 50–51, 53–55; and A. Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures et à ornements des bibliothèques d'Athènes* (Paris-Liège, 1926), 37–46, pls. xv–xviii.

¹⁰⁸ On Mt. Athos, Panteleimon 2, see Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos* (*supra*, note 78), I, 2, 349–53, pls. 272–95; and Huber *Athos* (*supra*, note 59), pls. 84–111. On Morgan Lib., 692, see *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections* (*supra*, note 33), no. 35. On Florence, Laur., Plut. VI.23, see T. Velmans, *Le tétraévangile de la Laurentienne, Florence, Laur. VI.23*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques, 6 (Paris, 1971). On Parma, palat. gr. 5, see Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, note 7), 191, pls. 240–44; and *Byzantine Art, an European Art*, no. 310.

¹⁰⁹ Hamann-Mac Lean, "Der Berliner Codex" (*supra*, note 4), 244–46. The terminus ante quem of 1219 has been drawn from the date of an Arabic inscription on fol. 2r, the recto of the first Canon Table. The Canon Tables were made for a book larger than quarto 66 and cut down; the inscription, too, is cut at the bottom. Thus the relationship of the Canon Tables to the codex as it now stands is ambiguous, and will form the subject of a subsequent study. The relationship of the Canon Tables to a similarly oversized set of supernumerary Evangelist portraits in the book and their close relationship to the Gospel miniatures suggest that the two sets of paintings were made in close proximity, however, and that the terminus ante quem for the Canon Tables remains valid.

¹¹⁰ See *supra*, note 52.

¹¹¹ Martin (*supra*, note 62), 47–87, pls. xvi–xliv; S. Der Nersessian, "The Praxapostolos of the Walters Art Gallery," *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner* (Baltimore, n.d.), 39–50.

¹¹² K. Weitzmann, *The Icon. Holy Images—Sixth to Fourteenth Centuries* (New York, 1978), 104.

¹¹³ See *supra*, note 52.

¹¹⁴ E. Constantinides, "The Tetraevangelion of the Athens National Library, MS. 93. The Liturgical Character of Its Miniatures," *XV^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines. Résumés des communications*, III. *Art et archéologie* (Athens, 1976).

most of the illustrations are crowded into the initial quire or two of each Gospel and follow one another with a frequency reminiscent of the old, continuous narrative technique. The values of the separately framed format are more fully exploited in Leningrad 105. Neither the selection nor the composition of the scenes in this manuscript stresses narrative drama. The selection is strangely spotty, emphasizing arcane episodes, and the compositions tend to “pan in” on one element only of the scenes, thus isolating them still further from the narrative. This is especially true of the major icons: the Nativity becomes Virgin, Child, and Magi; the Baptism includes just John, Jesus, and one angel; the Transfiguration is confined to the top three figures only; the Presentation is condensed to the half-length figure of Simeon embracing the Christ Child; and the Crucifixion is translated into the Βασιλεὺς τῆς Δόξης. The cycle in this case is clearly emphasizing the devotional possibilities of its separately framed format, presenting images for contemplation at points of devotional interest. It is surely in the context of these abbreviated “close-ups” that the Simeon Glykophilon and Man of Sorrows should be understood. The process is illustrated clearly in the image accompanying the Massacre of the Innocents. In both Chicago 965 and Leningrad 105 the artist has simplified the complex composition by centering down on one element of it. In Chicago 965 he chose the figure of Elizabeth vanishing into the mountain, thus producing the one apocryphal episode—other than the Anastasis—in the entire cycle. The Leningrad artist, on the other hand, excerpted the figure of the mourning mother with hands thrown over her head. Both images are affective. While the emphasis in the image of Elizabeth is narrative and dramatic, however, the Leningrad composition has an archetypal emotional force that points ahead to the powerful Palaeologan iconic images of Rachel.¹¹⁵ The Presentation is condensed to the similarly powerful figure of Simeon. This condensation had surely taken place already in the twelfth century: the image of Simeon Glykophilon appears at Lagoudera in 1192, and then in 1222 in the Syriac Lectionary in Jerusalem, Convent of St. Mark, 28.¹¹⁶ The Βασιλεὺς τῆς Δόξης is not known in any securely dated twelfth-century example. Likely twelfth-century

instances of the controversial icon do exist, however, including a steatite found in the twelfth-century layer at Novgorod and a two-sided icon from Kastoria,¹¹⁷ and Hans Belting has recently provided powerful proof of its twelfth-century origin as a visualization of twelfth-century devotional liturgies.¹¹⁸ Given the force of Belting’s liturgical arguments, given the existence of the examples convincingly attributed to the twelfth century, and given the same process of condensation in the twelfth-century icon of Simeon Glykophilon, it becomes highly likely that the Man of Sorrows did exist from the mid-twelfth century onward.

The remaining images in the cycle do point to the twelfth century. They suggest a body of imagery similar basically to that of the “frieze Gospels” but modified by successive waves of twelfth-century innovation. The first of these may have brought with it the distinctive vocabulary of Florence, Laurenziana, Plut. VI.23 itself, not only the informal images of Christ seated on a hillock or striding forward with his garment jouncing from his advanced arm, but more highly characterized motifs like the rear view of Christ, mounted side saddle, in his Entry into Jerusalem.¹¹⁹ The next major wave of innovation is evidenced in the cluster of compositions best exemplified in the Melisende Psalter, the Cappella Palatina, and Pskov, including Infancy scenes (the Annunciation to Zacharias with its jack-in-the-box angel, the Flight of Elizabeth in which the woman is shown half-length as she vanishes into a mountain to escape a swordsman, the Birth of the Baptist with a big cradle for the child, the scenes of John the Baptist in which he affects a tight-sleeved fur tunic, and the Presentation in the Temple with Simeon holding the Child),¹²⁰ certain highly condensed miracle scenes used at Pskov,¹²¹ and some Passion scenes

¹¹⁷ A. Bank, “Les monuments de la peinture byzantine du XIII^e siècle dans les collections de l’URSS,” *L’art byzantin du XIII^e siècle, Symposium de Sopoćani* (Belgrade, 1967), pl. 5; M. Chatzidakis, “L’évolution de l’icone aux 11^e-13^e siècles et la transformation du templon,” *XV^e Congrès International d’Etudes Byzantines. Rapports et co-rapports. III: Art et archéologie* (Athens, 1976), pl. 20.

¹¹⁸ Belting, “An Image” (*supra*, note 103).

¹¹⁹ Leningrad 105, fol. 156^r. Florence, Laur., Plut. VI.23, fol. 195^v; see Velmans, *Le tétraévangile de la Laurentienne* (*supra*, note 108), fig. 291.

¹²⁰ The Annunciation to Zacharias, the Flight of Elizabeth, and the Birth of the Baptist, shown in Chicago 965 on fols. 56^v, 9^r, and 58^r, are paralleled at Pskov. The fur tunic of the Baptist is discussed *supra*, note 44. The Presentation in the Temple, Chicago 965, fol. 59^v, is paralleled in the Melisende Psalter, fol. 3^r; see Buchthal, *Miniature Painting* (*supra*, note 33), pl. 3a.

¹²¹ These include the Healing of Peter’s Mother-in-Law in Chicago 965, fol. 15^r, and the Healing of the Withered Hand in Chicago 965, fol. 39^v.

¹¹⁵ As in Marko monastery. See G. Millet, *La peinture du Moyen-âge en Yougoslavie*, IV (Paris, 1969), pl. 91, fig. 168.

¹¹⁶ A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches* (*supra*, note 74), 32; W. H. Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures in Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pl. LXIV.

(the version of the Trial before Annas and Caiaphas used in Pskov and Leningrad 105, and the Washing of the Feet in which Christ offers Peter a towel as seen in Chicago 965 and the Melisende Psalter).¹²² These motifs, though not necessarily new to Byzantine usage, tend to appear together in monuments of the mid-twelfth century and together characterize the period. Stylistically, too, the spare compositions and rigid architecture of the Melisende Psalter¹²³ and the shallow schematism and silhouette-like clarity of Pskov recall the miniatures of the Chicago subgroup and make them plausibly proximate in date.

Yet a third wave of imagery, affecting the Chicago and Leningrad cycles only, had left its impress on Byzantine art by about 1180. One sees it reflected in a variety of monuments of the third quarter of the century—especially in San Marco at Venice, at Bethlehem, in Athens 93, and in the Georgian Gelat Gospels^{123a} and then in Monreale and in Paris, copte 13 of about 1180.¹²⁴ Innovations here emphasize dramatic action—the asymmetrical gesture of Christ addressing the Holy Women in the Garden, the thrusting gesture of the doubting Thomas, the left-to-right orientation of John in the Transfiguration¹²⁵—or center on miracle scenes. The Dropsical Man is now supported by a friend, Zaccheus kneels in his tree, Jesus grasps the wrist of the leper he heals, and the demoniacs

wear white pajamas, a motif long known in the *Hortus Deliciarum* but used also in the Byzantine East in the Gelat Gospels.¹²⁶ In scenes showing people at table, Christ is now seated. The Virgin joins him at table in the Cana miracle.¹²⁷ This version of the Cana miracle had an early history; one sees it in the “Archaic Group” of cycles in Cappadocia.¹²⁸ It was submerged in the wave of standard Middle Byzantine imagery, however, and surfaces again only in Monreale, as well as in copte 13 and the entire decorative style group of manuscripts. In the Supper at Bethany the placement of Christ on a chair made it necessary to represent the woman crouching within the contour of the table to anoint his feet. This pattern had been seen in eleventh-century Western art, but in Byzantium it is not found until it, too, appears at Monreale and throughout the decorative style group.¹²⁹ The fact that these two scenes appear at Monreale shows that they had become part of standard metropolitan imagery by the late twelfth century; their peripheral background, however, suggests at the same time that metropolitan imagery had become pervious to old, out-of-the-way or provincial motifs. A motif more pointedly provincial which appears in Chicago 965 is the golden himation of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount. Seen in twelfth-century Byzantine art only once, in the Transfiguration in the Cappella Palatina, the golden himation is pervasive in copte 13 and then appears often in thirteenth-century Arabic illuminations.¹³⁰ Its use in the Chicago New

¹²² For Pskov, see Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals* (*supra*, note 56), 247, fig. 45. In Leningrad 105, see fol. 103^r. The scene is interesting in that it is painted above the wrong passage. Often one suspects that the miniaturists of the Chicago subgroup were not drawing on completed models, but were compiling their scenes at first hand from a repertoire of standard figure types. In this case, however, the painter must have received the scene as a copyable whole and copied it in the wrong place. For the Washing of the Feet, see Chicago 965, fol. 98^r, and the Melisende Psalter, fol. 6^v: Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pl. 6b.

¹²³ Compare, in particular, the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet in Chicago 965, fols. 31^r and 98^r, with the same scenes in the Melisende Psalter, fols. 6^r and 6^v: see Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pls. 6a, 6b.

^{123a} Tbilisi, Manuscript Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R., Q 908.

¹²⁴ Isolated miracle scenes from San Marco are reproduced in Demus, *Die Mosaiken von San Marco* (*supra*, note 105). For Bethlehem, see P. B. Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme* (Jerusalem, 1952). For Athens 93, see *supra*, note 107. For the Gelat Gospels, see S. Amiranašvili, *Gruzinskaja Miniatura* (*supra*, note 55), 22–25. Though the Gelat Gospels are in Georgian, their Byzantine iconography, Greek inscriptions, and superb quality suggest metropolitan Byzantine models or manufacture. For copte 13 in Paris, see Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei* (*supra*, note 35), pls. xiv–xviii.

¹²⁵ For the Noli Me Tangere, see Chicago 965, fol. 34^v, and Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (*supra*, note 43), fig. 72. For the Transfiguration, Chicago 965, fol. 24^v, see *ibid.*, fig. 67A. For the Incredulity of Thomas, see Leningrad 105, fol. 210^v and Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici*, pl. 25.

¹²⁶ The two scenes of the Dropsical Man and Zaccheus, Leningrad 105, fols. 154^r and 144^r, are paralleled in San Marco. For Christ grasping the Leper's hand, see Chicago 965, fol. 14^r, and Leningrad 105, fol. 72^r, and Athens 93, fol. 97^r, reproduced in *Byzantine Art, an European Art* (*supra*, note 4), pl. 317^b. The demoniacs' white trousers, shown in Chicago 965, fols. 15^v, 19^v, and 42^v, and in Leningrad 105, fol. 24^r, appear in the Gelat Gospels on fol. 36^v, and in the *Hortus Deliciarum* on fol. 123^r: see Herrad de Landesberg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, ed. J. Walter (Strasbourg, 1952), pl. xxiii. They appear only rarely after about 1200. The only example I know is in the fourteenth-century Gladzor Gospels from Greater Armenia, now at U.C.L.A.; see T. F. Matthews, “The Gladzor Gospel Book of U.C.L.A.,” *II International Symposium of Armenian Art* (Yerevan, 1978).

¹²⁷ Chicago 965, fol. 87^v; Leningrad 105, fol. 175^v; Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, fig. 66A.

¹²⁸ M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor* (Greenwich, Conn., 1968), II, figs. 71 and 103. See Chicago 965, fol. 87^v, and Leningrad 105, fol. 175^v.

¹²⁹ Chicago 965, fol. 51^v; Leningrad 105, fol. 99^v; Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (*supra*, note 43), fig. 89B. The scenes of the Supper in the House of Simon Leper and the Supper in the House of Simon Pharisee become indistinguishable, both showing the anointing of Jesus' feet.

¹³⁰ Chicago 965, fol. 11^v; P. Toesca, *Les mosaïques de la Chapelle Palatine de Palerme* (Milan, 1955), pl. xv; Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei* (*supra*, note 35), pl. xvi.

Testament would seem to relate Chicago 965 to the later twelfth-century Middle East.

As in style, so in iconography the innovations of about 1180 mark the last broad wave of influence playing on the Chicago subgroup. Very few distinctive motifs remain. The curious leg crutch in the Chicago manuscript's Healing of the Multitude has a twelfth-century counterpart in the Salerno antependium.¹³¹ The striking motif of Salome dancing with the head of John the Baptist balanced on hers, though it is widespread only in the second half of the thirteenth century,¹³² appears on a late-twelfth-century icon on Mt. Sinai and in the early thirteenth-century Georgian Djirutchi Gospels (Tbilisi, Manuscript Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R., codex H 1667).¹³³ These scenes, too, suggest thus a twelfth-century date for the Chicago cycle. With unqualified consistency, then, the Gospel imagery of the Chicago subgroup points toward the twelfth century.

Local indices have been few: the golden himation is quite certainly a Middle Eastern motif; the crib in the Nativity is seen otherwise only in Garrett 3; the icon of Simeon Glykophilon is found for the first time in Cyprus and Syria; and a Jerusalem origin has at times been proposed for the Man of Sorrows.¹³⁴ The Middle Eastern inclination is supported, however, by a more general consideration. Surviving monuments indicate a spate of intense interest in Gospel narrative in the Middle East. This interest is most extensively evidenced in the art of the various ethnic groups: the Syrians, the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Latins. The rich imagery of the Eastern monuments—the Syrian cycles, from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, syriaque 355,

to London, British Library, Additional 7170, and Vatican, syriacus 699; the Egyptian copte 13 in Paris, painted by Syrians in 1178–80; the Georgian Gelat and Djirutchi gospels; the Armenian cycles from Edessa in Venice (Library of the Mechitarist Fathers, 141 and 888)¹³⁵—is paralleled, in turn, by the innovative cycles of Latin sculpture and the Graeco-Latin Melisende Psalter.¹³⁶ Iconographically, the Latin sculptures are especially interesting, since they show a number of arcane and highly specific episodes invented on the spot from standard figural and compositional types.¹³⁷ Precisely the same practice is seen in the cycles of Chicago 965 and Leningrad 105. Stylistically, the Armenian group is particularly notable. Its cycles are composed of simplified, separately framed scenes painted in bright blue, red, and magenta tones, and its Evangelist portraits sit in schematized poses against backgrounds of architecture whose extravagance is equaled only by the New York Gospels of the Chicago subgroup. Iconographically and stylistically, then, the Middle Eastern spate of Gospel imagery offers a congenial context to the Chicago subgroup's cycles. In view of the efflorescence of Gospel imagery among all the many ethnic groups mentioned above, it seems only natural to expect that the Greeks, too, in the Middle East should have produced illustrated Gospel Books. The Chicago subgroup may represent the Greek face of this efflorescence. The role of the Crusades in fostering this manifestation is hypothetical, but the interest in Christological narrative was especially strong in the Crusader countries and may well help to account for the extensive cycles of the Chicago subgroup.

Unlike the Gospel cycle, the Psalter cycle seen in the Chicago subgroup has never been examined in terms of its chronological attribution.¹³⁸ It is a cu-

¹³¹ Chicago 965, fol. 38^r, and A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit*, IV (Berlin, 1926), pl. XLIX, 34.

¹³² The motif appears in the Holy Apostles at Thessaloniki: A. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la peinture macédonienne* (Athens, 1955), pl. 3, p. 1; in the Kubelidiki in Kastoria: A. A. Novello, *Grecia bizantina* (Milan, 1969), pl. 18; on a silver plaque in the Vatican: H. Daffner, *Salome* (Munich, 1912), 69–70; in wall paintings at Dionysiu and Dochiariu on Mt. Athos: G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos, I: Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), pls. 205, 1 and 227, 2; in the Parma baptistry: L. Testi, *Le Battistère de Parme* (Florence, 1916), pl. 171; and in the baptistry of San Marco in Venice: Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (*supra*, note 3), III, pl. xxii.

¹³³ The motif appears in Chicago 965 on fol. 22^r. The Sinai icon, Inv. 104, is given in G. A. Soteriou, *Εἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ* (Athens, 1956), no. 168. For the Djirutchi Gospels, see Amiranašvili, *Gruzinskaja Miniatura* (*supra*, note 55), pl. 48.

¹³⁴ Bauerreis, "HO BASILEUS TES DOXES" (*supra*, note 103), *passim*.

¹³⁵ For Paris, copte 13, see Cramer *Koptische Buchmalerei*, pls. xvi–xviii. For the Syrian cycles, see J. Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient* (Paris, 1964). For the Gelat and Djirutchi Gospels, see Amiranašvili, *Gruzinskaja Miniatura*; and G. Alibegachvili, *Miniatures des manuscrits géorgiens des XI^e–début XIII^e siècles* (in Georgian with French summaries) (Tbilisi, 1973). For the Armenian cycles, see more recently M. Janashian, *Miniature armène, Biblioteca dei Padri Mechitaristi di San Lazzaro*, I (Venice, 1966), 34–39, pls. XLVIII–LIV, where the author revises Der Nersessian's previous late twelfth-century attribution to an early twelfth-century one.

¹³⁶ Folda, "Painting and Sculpture" (*supra*, note 80); and Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, (*supra*, note 33), 1–13.

¹³⁷ J. Folda, "Three Crusader Capitals in Jerusalem," *Levant*, 10 (1978), 139–55.

¹³⁸ Its relation to the aristocratic Psalter cycle has been examined by Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter" (*supra*, note 71),

rious one, linked to the metropolitan aristocratic cycle but distinct in many details. In both pictures appear at the same points, but the Chicago subgroup is more regular: all frontispieces are of uniform, full-page format, the Ode illuminations are equally uniform, and the First Psalm is preceded by just one picture as are the others. Also in subject matter the Chicago subgroup's Psalter cycle is often distinct. The First Psalm is prefaced by an image of David, crowned or uncrowned, as a lone, youthful musician; the Seventy-seventh Psalm opens with an image of Moses or Christ preaching to the Hebrews; the frontispiece to the Odes is quite unconventional, showing Moses leading the Hebrews toward rather than away from the Red Sea (fig. 53); the First Ode has a picture of Miriam's dance; and the majority of the remaining Odes show the author kneeling, running, or represented half-length with hands extended to the arc of Heaven. Many aspects of the cycle are unique; others, however, fall into tidy parallel with twelfth-century developments. These include above all the frontispieces to the First and Seventy-seventh Psalms, and the authors of the Odes. The latter are often shown running. The running prophet is a figure particularly associated with the twelfth century, appearing first in St. Chrysostom in Koutsoveni, then in the presbytery at Cefalù in the third quarter of the century, and then again slightly later in a manuscript in Athens, National Library, 15.¹³⁹ Above all, one sees running prophets in later twelfth-century books associated with Syria, notably the Buchanan Bible in Cambridge and Laud gr. 30 A in Oxford (fig. 54).¹⁴⁰

The frontispieces to the First and Seventy-seventh Psalms reflect the process of excerption and condensation seen already in the Gospel cycles. Here, however, it is possible—as it had not been in the Gospels—to link the process with metropolitan parallels. The miniature traditionally assigned to

the Seventy-seventh Psalm was the Reception and Transmission of the Law by Moses. Already in the early twelfth century, however, one finds artists representing one or the other of the scene's two episodes and omitting the other. This occurs for the first dated time in Houghton 3 at Harvard, of 1105, where one finds only the Transmission of the Law.¹⁴¹ The space allotted to the image is so diminutive here that the condensation of the content seems only natural. When one moves deeper into the twelfth century, however, to Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. 565, Athens, National Library, 7, and Vatican, Barb. gr. 320 of 1177, one finds the same condensation at work in miniatures quite large enough to accommodate the entire scene. Venice 565 and Athens 7 opt for the Receiving of the Law, reducing it to a single, standing figure of Moses which is enlarged to monumental proportions.¹⁴² Barberini 320, on the other hand, opts for the Transmission, and dedicates its full frontispiece to that.¹⁴³ This is precisely the image used in the Chicago subgroup (fig. 51). The same sort of condensation appears in the Barberini Psalter's image of the Anointing of David (fig. 43), indicating that it was, in fact, a feature of miniature painting in the second half of the twelfth century.

The same process seems to have been at work in the frontispiece to the First Psalm, where one finds the lone, youthful musician, usually seated frontally in the familiar pose of Orpheus. That this is, or is simply, a survival of the composition of the shepherd musician as it was before Melodia entered the picture is made improbable by the history of the subject as a frontispiece. So far as one knows, it was only with the addition of Melodia that this image became a frontispiece; not until the twelfth century did the lone musician David appear as the subject of a frontispiece. There were, in fact, two frontispiece images of David the musician. One showed him crowned and accompanied by other musicians; the other showed him uncrowned and accompanied by Melodia. The former had extricated itself from the context of biography to become a sole frontispiece already in the Chludov Psalter,¹⁴⁴ and appears in elaborated

250–55. Otherwise, the major studies on this cycle have been those of G. Millet and S. Der Nersessian, "Le Psautier arménien illustré," *REArm*, 9 (1929), 137–81; and A. Baumstark, "Ein rudimentäres Exemplar der griechischen Psalterillustration," *OrChr*, N.S. 2 (1912), 107–19.

¹³⁹For St. Chrysostom, see Mango and Hawkins, "Fieldwork" (*supra*, note 74), fig. 43. The striding prophets at the top of the north presbytery wall at Cefalù are omitted in published photographs. For Athens, Nat. Lib., 15, see Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures* (*supra*, note 107), pl. xxxii.

¹⁴⁰J. Leroy, "Le cycle iconographique de la Buchanan Bible, manuscrit syriaque de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Cambridge," *CahArch*, 6 (1952), 103–24. For Laud 30 A, see *supra*, note 34.

¹⁴¹Nees, "An Illuminated Byzantine Psalter" (*supra* note 61), pl. 3.

¹⁴²Bonicatti, "Un Salterio greco" (*supra*, note 93), fig. v, 1; Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures*, pl. xxx.

¹⁴³Bonicatti, "Un Salterio greco," fig. vi, 2.

¹⁴⁴M. V. Ščepkina, *Miniatjura Hludovskoj Psalteri* (Moscow, 1977), pl. 1.

form among the frontispiece images in various eleventh-century aristocratic Psalters—Mt. Athos, Vatopedi, 761; Vatican, graecus 342; and London, British Library, Additional 36928.¹⁴⁵ The latter, on the other hand, entered the frontispiece tradition as part of the multiple frontispiece of scenes from David's life in the aristocratic Psalters. Only in the later eleventh century, in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 54, does this scene become isolated from the rest of the biography and stand as a frontispiece in its own right.¹⁴⁶ As if in recognition of its isolation, stripped of its biographical sequel, the composition has been somewhat altered, and David's profile position is replaced by a frontal one. When the image of the youthful musician appears in the twelfth century, as it does in Venice 565 and Barberini 320, it retains both its isolation from David's biography and its frontal composition.¹⁴⁷ In Venice 565 it appears in conjunction with an image of David writing, as it had in the Milanese codex. In Barberini 320, however, it has been further isolated. Rather than among the frontispieces to the book, it appears as the frontispiece to the First Psalm, framed in the headpiece and unique. In the twelfth-century Pantocrator 234 on Mt. Athos, finally, the youthful musician appears as the sole frontispiece, isolated from all other images.¹⁴⁸ The frontal pose remains the same, but Melodia has vanished and David himself occupies the center as if in recognition of his sole and summary introductory role. This is precisely the image that prefaced the now lost Psalter in Chicago 965 (fig. 47). Just concurrently, in Athens, Nat. Lib. 15, of 1170–90, the image of the mature musician David was contracted for the first time to its central core and isolated as a sole frontispiece. The frontispieces in the twelfth-century Psalters, then, provide a persuasive context for the concentrated images of the Chicago subgroup.

The likelihood that the frontispiece pictures of the Chicago subgroup were the product of contemporary artistic developments and not “fossilized” survivals is suggested by their great iconographic vitality. The process of concentration did not stop with Chicago 965. A further step involved the isolation of the frontal, short-tunicked musi-

cian from his landscape background. One sees this in the major frontispiece in the Paris New Testament and Psalter, where the same youthful and short-tunicked figure of David is transposed into an architectural setting and given the king's throne and viol (fig. 48). With this, the figure becomes a movable cipher that can be fitted into any number of different contexts. It moves, for instance, into the small and exceedingly composite biographical scene of the musician David on the facing page, where it appears, albeit in a landscape setting, in the regal context of the accompanying musicians (fig. 49). As the figure of David is progressively stripped of the trappings of its original context and becomes adaptable to an ever greater number of different settings, it becomes richer, more abstract, and more ambiguous in meaning. The final step in the process traced here is the crowning of the youthful shepherd musician as seen in Vatopedi 851 (fig. 50) and London, Add. 40753 (cat. 8) (fig. 35): here the singing shepherd of the biography becomes David in general and, without shedding the characteristics of the youth, begins to assume the trappings of the king. This process of isolation and conflation creates images of iconic richness and ambiguity. It was this same process that produced the Simeon Glykophilon and no doubt also the Βασιλεὺς τῆς Δόξης. The Comnenian Psalter frontispieces provide a clear basis for its attribution to the twelfth century.

In the association of Miriam with the First Ode and the periodic replacement of Moses preaching by Christ preaching to the Hebrews in the frontispiece to the Seventy-seventh Psalm, one finds an interpenetration of aristocratic Psalter imagery with imagery associated with the marginal cycle. This interpenetration may be symptomatic of the cycle's old and independent history. But the specific forms of the pictures tie them to twelfth-century developments. The visual context for the image of Christ addressing the Hebrews (fig. 52) seems to have been offered by the emergence of the compositionally very similar image of Moses addressing the Hebrews; the full composition containing both the reception and the transmission of the Law would scarcely have suggested such a substitution. The iconographic context for the substitution was probably created by the interest in Christological imagery that shaped aristocratic Psalter cycles from the later eleventh century onward.¹⁴⁹ Both icono-

¹⁴⁵K. Weitzmann, “The Aristocratic Psalter Vatopedi 761: Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension,” *JWall*, 10 (1947), fig. 10; Bonicatti, “Un Salterio greco,” fig. xiv, 1.

¹⁴⁶M.-L. Gengaro et al., *Codici decorati e miniati dell'Ambrosiana. Ebraici e greci* (Milan, 1970), pl. L.

¹⁴⁷Bonicatti, “Un Salterio greco,” fig. 11, 1; H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938), fig. 21.

¹⁴⁸Huber, *Athos* (supra, note 59), fig. 128.

¹⁴⁹On Christological elements in Comnenian Psalter illumination, see *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*

graphically and visually, then, the scene can be explained as a response to twelfth-century conditions. The dance of Miriam has a yet clearer Comnenian precedent. The little aristocratic Psalter in London, Add. 36928, uses this theme;¹⁵⁰ moreover, like the Psalters of the Chicago subgroup, it conflates the subject of Miriam's exultation with the ring-dance form of the Hebrew women's celebration of David, a subject that had occurred in contemporary Psalters like Vatopedi 761.¹⁵¹ Thus this motif, too, seems to have had an avatar in the Comnenian aristocratic cycle before it appeared in the Chicago subgroup. Adulteration, innovation, and conflation with marginal imagery were all characteristic of Comnenian Psalter illumination. The parallels that emerge between the twelfth-century aristocratic cycle and the Chicago one seem to justify the association of the latter with the processes at work in the Comnenian period, the period specified by Manuel Hagiostephanites.

Local indices are equally assertive. The image of the Three Hebrews in Taphou 55 (fig. 57), though standard in composition, is so similar in form and technique to those of the Psalters in the Chicago subgroup (fig. 58) that the boundaries between the two groups vanish; Taphou 55 belongs as much to the one as to the other.

Origins of the Chicago Subgroup

The provincial, Comnenian attribution of the Chicago subgroup to the area of Cyprus and Palestine can only be reinforced by an inquiry into its origins. These seem to be rooted in the first third of the twelfth century. One does notice, it is true, elements in the manuscripts' illumination that seem to point far back into Byzantine art. The scenes framed in borders of stepped lozenges and the big, half- or three-quarter-length figures looming in their frames recall the imposing miniatures of the Georgian Sion Lectionary of 1030 and the Armenian King Gagik Gospels of the mid-eleventh century,¹⁵² both based on early eleventh-century Greek

models. The scene of Christ addressing the Hebrews points back to the marginal Psalters, and motifs in the Gospel cycle, too, point back to the early Macedonian period: John the Baptist prostrate at his first encounter with Christ, for instance, is unparalleled in surviving monuments after Tokali Kilise and Belli Kilise in Cappadocia.¹⁵³ The Canon Tables have been tricked out in the vine-scroll vocabulary of Comnenian ornament, but their complex, freely curving contours and prowling foxes find their one serious counterpart in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, I 18, a book of the tenth century.¹⁵⁴ A yet deeper residue of the past appears to survive in the frontispieces to the Gospels. Chicago 965, like a number of its fellows in the decorative style group, is prefaced by a full-page miniature of Moses Receiving the Law. It is inscribed with the first half of John 1:17, implying that there was once a facing frontispiece with the remainder of the quotation. The use of Moses at the opening of the Gospel text is unprecedented since Vatican, graecus 1522, a Lectionary of the tenth century.¹⁵⁵ The same figure recurs in the Paris New Testament and Psalter (fig. 55). Here, as originally in Chicago 965, he is accompanied by a second frontispiece that completes his Johannine quotation and its content (fig. 56). This page shows the Emmanuel *en buste* at the crux of a cross with full-length Evangelist symbols standing in the quadrants. The coupling of this composition with Moses is unknown elsewhere; it may reflect the twelfth-century vogue for typology.¹⁵⁶ The representation and organization of the Evangelist symbols, however, has a disconcerting similarity to compositions appearing in early medieval western Europe, such as the Cuthbert Coffin, the Gundohinus Gospels, Trier 61, and the Essen Gospels.¹⁵⁷ It must reflect some very old

(*supra*, note 33), no. 30; and Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks" (*supra*, note 63), *passim*.

¹⁵⁰ Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter" (*supra*, note 71), 252, note 102.

¹⁵¹ Weitzmann, "The Aristocratic Psalter Vatopedi 761" (*supra*, note 145), fig. 8. Since this article was submitted for publication, Brit. Lib. add. 36928 has been attributed to Palestine by A. Cutler, in "A Psalter from Mār Saba and the Evolution of the Byzantine David Cycle," *Journal of Jewish Art*, 6 (1979), 39–63.

¹⁵² On the Sion Lectionary, now A 648 in the State Museum in Tbilisi, see Alibegachvili, *Miniatures* (*supra*, note 135), pls. 1–35. On the King Gagik, or Kars, Gospels, now in the Treasury

of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, see A. Tchobanian, *Le Roseaie d'Arménie*, III (Paris, 1918), 268 and *passim*. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (*supra*, note 43), 345–46 note 353, suggested on stylistic grounds that the miniatures might be twelfth century. They are surely eleventh-century works, but his suggestion underlines their kinship with the decorative style books.

¹⁵³ Chicago 965, fol. 10^v; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting* (*supra*, note 128), II, figs. 69–70; G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, III (Paris, 1934–42), pl. 182.2.

¹⁵⁴ K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), pl. VIII, figs. 39–40.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. VI, fig. 25.

¹⁵⁶ A vogue brought out by Buchthal, "Stylistic Trends" (*supra*, note 2).

¹⁵⁷ E. Kitzinger, "The Coffin Reliquary," *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956), vii; V. H. Elbern, *Das erste Jahrtausend* (Düsseldorf, 1964), pl. vol., fig. 234; J. Hubert *et al.*, *L'Europe des invasions* (Paris, 1967), 202, pl. 211; H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer: Die vorromanische Schatzkammer* (Düsseldorf, 1958), pl. 157. An eastern origin for this motif was

model, surely one different from that used for the Moses. Along with its new and contemporary motifs, then, the Chicago subgroup embraces a variety of old and out-of-the-way images as well. These old motifs, however, are scattered and heterogeneous. Many of them find twelfth-century parallels, and most of them are clothed in the trappings of twelfth-century convention: John the Baptist recognizing Christ wears the sleeved fur tunic of the twelfth century; the Canon Tables use twelfth-century ornamental motifs; the figure of Moses assumes the slender, scurrying form found in the twelfth century; and the Christ Emmanuel appears in the quatrefoil crossing boss of Middle Byzantine custom. Scattered and adulterate as they are, these old images cannot be an indication that the Chicago subgroup itself derived from the tenth century or earlier. Rather, they suggest a limited and retrospective, presumably provincial milieu in which old monuments could acquire sudden vitality under the pressure of new artistic productivity.

The awakening of this milieu may be illumined by a closely related and problematic pair of twelfth-century manuscripts, New York, Public Library, Spencer 1, and Vatican, graecus 1231.¹⁵⁸ Spencer 1 is a lavishly illuminated Psalter; Vatican, gr. 1231 is a Commentary on Job with more than two hundred separately framed pictures. The two books are closely akin in style and figure type (figs. 59, 60) and reminiscent of the Chicago subgroup in their hot color schemes, schematic landscapes, specific architectural forms, and large proportions of figure to frame. The text of Spencer 1 is copied in black ink, that of the Vatican Job in magenta and brown; nonetheless, both scripts reflect the same vocabulary of forms, including a high proportion

of minuscules and the use of the *iota* adscript. Both have strong links with Mt. Athos, Laura, B 100, an abbreviated copy of the Vatican Job that uses the diminutive minuscule of Chicago 965 and belongs to its subgroup. The two books must, accordingly, be closely related to one another and linked in some way to the Chicago subgroup. Iconographically, Spencer 1 is innocent of the motifs linking the Chicago subgroup's Psalter cycle to the aristocratic one: it is prefaced by an image of David the king amid musicians rather than David the shepherd in a landscape, and it shows no ring dance before the First Ode. Nonetheless, it has interesting parallels with the Chicago cycle. Moses addresses the Hebrews before the Seventy-seventh Psalm; above all, the Odes are prefaced by a double miniature showing Moses leading the Israelites first toward the Red Sea, and then up the opposite bank as he causes the water to close on the Egyptians. Thus that most singular of the Chicago subgroup's frontispieces, the scene of Moses leading his people toward the Red Sea (fig. 53), finds a counterpart here. The dual frontispiece appears again before the Fiftieth Psalm, where David is rebuked by Nathan on one page and repents on the next. This dual pattern may point back directly to very early sources, as Cutler has indicated.¹⁵⁹ In this case, Spencer 1 would reflect more purely a model that survives only in intimations in the more adulterated cycle of the Chicago subgroup with its metropolitan intrusions. The actual date of the Spencer Psalter is not known, but its associate, Vatican, gr. 1231, has a colophon saying that it was made by one John Tarsites for Leo Nikerites, anagrapheus, protobobilissimos, and duke of Cyprus. Leo Nikerites is known to us from Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*, where he figures as a general in 1091 on the Danube border, in 1096 in Dyrrachium, and in 1097 at Lopadium during the siege of Nicaea.¹⁶⁰ He was apparently a bibliophile; Anna liked him, and along with the Job he owned an Octateuch copied for him in 1103 by John the Stranger, scribe of the Constantinopolitan Paris, Suppl. gr. 1262 of 1101. Here he

argued by M. Werner, "The Four Evangelist Symbols Page in the Book of Durrow," *Gesta*, 8 (1969), 17. L. Nees has argued for its Western, perhaps Ravennate origin: see "The Illustrations of the Gundohinus Gospel at Autun" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1976), 219–20; and "A Fifth-Century Book Cover and the Origin of the Four Evangelist Symbols Page in the Book of Durrow," *Gesta*, 17,1 (1978), 3–8. It is hard, however, to account for the transposition of an early medieval Western motif into a new milieu five hundred years later. A similar organization of the Evangelist symbols occurs in Mt. Athos, Laura, Liturgical Roll 2: see L. Bréhier, "Les peintures du rouleau liturgique No. 2 du Monastère de Laure," *SemKond*, 11 (1940), pl. v,2. The roll is akin to manuscripts in the Chicago subgroup and suggests that the composition of the Evangelist symbols was available to twelfth-century painters in the Middle East. This makes one want to return to Kitzinger's initial, more flexible suggestion that the motif was simply an early medieval Mediterranean one.

¹⁵⁸ A. Cutler, "The Spencer Psalter: A Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Manuscript in the New York Public Library," *CahArch*, 23 (1974), 129–50.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 139–40. Cutler bases his suggestions on K. Weitzmann, "The Ode Pictures of the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *DOP*, 30 (1976), 65–84.

¹⁶⁰ A. Comnena, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1943–45), chap. VII, 2, 3; chap. XIII, 5; chap. XV, 2; N. Bees, "Zur Sigillographie der byzantinischen Themen Peloponnes und Hellas," *VizVrem*, 21 (1914), 233–35; R. Guillard, "Études de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines," *BZ*, 44 (1951), 226. Leo's Octateuch has been located by John Lowdon, who includes it in his doctoral dissertation, "The Vatopedi Octateuch and Its Sources," for the Courtauld Inst. of the Univ. of London, 1980.

is referred to as ἐκλαμπρότατος προτονοβελίσσιμος δικέτατος of Alexius I.¹⁶¹ He is known from lead seals and literary sources to have held the titles of protoproedros and anagrapheus and then strategos and proconsul of the Peloponnesus. Just when he held these offices is not clear. The names of the dukes of Cyprus between 1093 and 1107 and between 1111 and 1118 are known;¹⁶² since Leo's is not among them, he must have held this office between 1107 and 1111 or after 1118. It would presumably have been at this time that his copy of Job was produced. The colophon in Vatican, gr. 1231 is in the very same script as the text and so somewhat suspect; certainly its fluent but provincial scribe cannot hold a candle to the urbane John the Stranger who copied Leo's Octateuch.¹⁶³ Thus it could be that the Vatican Job is merely a copy, colophon and all, of a Job that did belong to Leo. Even as a copy, however, the Vatican codex need not postdate its original by much. Its script is looser and more cursive than that of John the Stranger and so possibly later. Nonetheless, it retains features of his, like the *iota* adscript, the three-pronged *eta-nu*, and the very low proportion of uncial to minuscule letters that had long been left behind in the mid-century scripts of Manuel Hagiostephanites and his contemporaries. The book will reward further study. At present, however, its early twelfth-century paleographic features, its close kinship with Spencer 1, and the likelihood that Spencer 1 antedates the more composite Psalter cycle seen in the Chicago subgroup all suggest that Vatican, gr. 1231—whether commission or copy—must precede the Chicago subgroup and must reflect with Spencer 1 the first response to a new stimulus accompanying the establishment of the Byzantine presence on Cyprus. Under these circumstances, manuscript activity would have emerged, like extensive mural activity, in the first third of the twelfth century. Only with the work of a second generation, represented by Manuel's miniaturists, did the features become manifest that distinguish the Chicago subgroup itself and bind it to the larger decorative style group. These features must have been spurred both by growing local assurance and by an increasing contact with metropolitan art exemplified in the Comnenian

pretensions of Garrett 3. The pretentious painters of Chicago 965 and its sequels would represent yet a third generation of this development, before its demise in the wake of the late-twelfth-century collapse of the Middle Eastern situation in both Cyprus and Palestine.

CONCLUSIONS

The Chicago subgroup, then, comes to take its place in the twelfth century as indicated by Manuel's colophons. Both the blocky black script of Manuel himself and the hectic, diminutive miniscule of the other books were in use in the second half of that century; the style of the miniatures follows a pattern of development seen in the same period; and the iconographic motifs can be traced to the same span of years. Local associations with Palestinian manuscripts have emerged on the iconographic, technical, decorative, and coloristic levels; to establish the distinction between Palestinian and Cypriot manuscripts is at present impossible. The histories of the other manuscripts in the Chicago subgroup, to the extent that we know them, point most often to Cyprus and Palestine as well: the Benaki Psalter was copied and illuminated by—or possibly for—one Barnabas, Grand Oikonomos of the holdings of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem on Cyprus; London, Add. 11836 is known to have been at the shrine of the Blessed Barnabas at Vasa on Cyprus in the fifteenth and still in the eighteenth century; the Paris New Testament and Psalter came to France from Jerusalem and belonged at an earlier point in its history to the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross just outside Jerusalem; the Tetraevangelion in Oxford, Wake 31 was in Jerusalem in 1666. Thus the subgroup does have a bond with that area. At the same time, one must bear in mind the ambiguous extent of this area. Manuel himself was probably a Cypriot, as his name, patron, and script imply. Paleographically, however, Cyprus belonged to a broader community which, included Palestine and Rhodes as well. The Oxford Prophets Book, Laud gr. A 30, has indicated a Syrian as well as a Cypro-Palestinian use of the diminutive minuscule, and Weitzmann's work on the Asinou style has suggested a stylistic community, too, embracing Syria along with Cyprus and Palestine. Thus it becomes difficult to guess over how broad an area the big Chicago subgroup and its circle of relatives might spread. If anything, the large and ramified character of the group accords well with the ramified territorial

¹⁶¹ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Βιβλιοθήκη (*supra*, note 26), IV, 2.

¹⁶² Mango and Hawkins, "Fieldwork" (*supra*, note 74), 333–40; Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (*supra*, note 79), I, 229–30.

¹⁶³ Nees, "An Illuminated Byzantine Psalter" (*supra*, note 61), pls. 7–9.

picture that presents itself. Rather than as products of a single place, one should probably regard these manuscripts as Levantine in general, with a focal point in Palestine or Cyprus.

Seen in overview, then, the Chicago subgroup comes to represent a sturdy, prolific community of provincial activity that emerged in the course of the twelfth century and probably characterized much of the Levant. The first intimations of this activity belong to the first third of that century; the subgroup itself gathered definition in the middle of it and reached its fullest and most ramified expression in the 1170s and 1180s. Cyprus and Palestine offer the most extensive comparative material, and some of the scribes and patrons were certainly established there: Leo Nikerites, John the Cretan, Manuel Hagiostephanites, and Barnabas the Grand Oikonomos. As the subgroup developed, the initial, superannuated Byzantine traditions were blended with massive waves of direct and indirect metropolitan influence and with elements from the local Syrian and Armenian traditions that were maturing at the same time. Books continued no doubt to be made after 1190, but the subgroup itself had run its course by then.

The reattribution of the Chicago subgroup to the period between the 1150s and the 1180s has significant implications for the remainder of the extensive decorative style group. One is chronological. The style represented by the group as a whole cannot be a phenomenon of the Latin Interregnum; its roots lie deep in the twelfth century. Another implication, more disturbing in its ramifications, concerns locale. The Chicago subgroup is unquestionably provincial; it is quite distinct from

contemporary metropolitan production as we know it. The remaining subgroups in the decorative style company are dependent on solutions first proposed in the Chicago subgroup: they, too, preface the Gospels with figures of Moses and the Emmanuel; they, too, illustrate the text with extensive cycles of separately framed Gospel scenes chosen and composed in ways seen in the Chicago subgroup; they, too, use tertiary tones in decorative, pastel color schemes and compose their images in flat, screen-like patterns with powerfully silhouetted forms placed centrally against ornate rectangles of flattened furniture and architecture; they, too, use extravagant carpet headpieces and imaginative, freely formed Canon Tables. In each of these respects the remaining subgroups adhere to the tradition enunciated in the Chicago subgroup and not to the metropolitan one. These books are of higher quality than the Chicago manuscript's kin. They are also later. Their recurrent mesh of mutual relationships suggests that some center of inspiration does lie behind them all. Constantinople has not yet supplied a persuasive model. It may be that it will, and that this provincial group will become a testimony to the diffusion of metropolitan conventions over a broad radius in the twelfth century. It may be, on the other hand, that this group sees the efflorescence of some specifically provincial tradition. Just what this tradition was remains obscure: the testimony of the group as a whole is as yet equivocal. The testimony of Manuel's manuscripts, however, makes it clear that manuscript painting, like monumental painting, saw a phase of lively provincial productivity in the course of the twelfth century.

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS

1. *Athens, Benaki Museum, 34.3*

Psalter, with Odes of Miriam, Moses, Hannah, Habakkuk, Isaiah, Jonah, the Three Hebrews, and Manasses, and the Magnificat of the Virgin.

198 folios. Ruling type: Lake I 26 c.

15 × 11.3 cm. Trimmed at top. Justification 11.1 × 7.1 cm.

24 lines, 28–29 letters per line.

Black ink, with initial letters and Psalm numbers in gold over magenta.

Quire marks: Black initial in top, outer corner of first page. Occasionally a black cross in the center of the top margin of the first page.

Quire composition: 1–8, 9–16, 17–24, 25–32, 33–40, 41–48, 49–56, 57, 58–65, 66–73, 74–81, 82–89, 90–97, 98–105, 106–13, 114–21, 122–29, 130–37, 138–45, 146–54, 155–61, 162–69, 170–75, 176–77, 178–85, 186–92, 193–94, 195–98. Folios 176–77 and 193–94 are fourteenth-century additions; 176–77 replace two folios cut from the end of the preceding quire; 57 and 89 are blank on the recto. The first surviving quire was originally the second in the book, since 17^r has the quire number δ'. There must, accordingly, have been an initial quire containing frontispiece(s).

Miniatures: Ps. 1, headpiece with bust of Christ (1^r); Ps. 2, king addressing crowd with Christ in arc of Heaven (2^r); Ps. 3, king, two horsemen, and crowd in landscape (3^r); Ps. 4, 5, 6, David, half-length, praying (3^v, 4^r, 5^v); Ps. 7, full-length praying David and crowd (6^v); Ps. 8, the same, half-length (7^v); Ps. 9, David, half-length, praying (8^v); Ps. 10, David standing with scroll, and Christ in arc of Heaven (11^r); Ps. 11, like 7^v with Hand of God above (12^r); Ps. 12, David with hands crossed on chest, Hand of God above (12^v); Ps. 13, like 7^v with Christ in arc of Heaven (13^r); Ps. 14, David and man standing below Christ in arc of Heaven (14^r); Ps. 15, David facing two saints, half-length (14^v); Ps. 16, David, half-length, praying to Christ, who bends out from arc of Heaven (15^v); Ps. 17, David, half-length, praying, and an army (16^v); Ps. 18, two half-length saints (19^v); Ps. 19, David, half-length, with hand to cheek (21^v); Ps. 20, 21, 22, David, half-length, facing arc of Heaven (21^v, 22^v, 24^v); Ps. 23, David facing Christ in arc of Heaven (25^v); Ps. 24, 25, 26, David, half-length, praying to arc (26^r, 27^r, 28^r); Ps. 27, David, half-length, facing arc and gesturing to

figure behind him standing in well (29^r); Ps. 28, David, half-length, praying and a crowd with a goat (30^r); Ps. 29, David, half-length, holding disc with head of the Pantocrator (31^r); Ps. 30, David, half-length, praying (32^r); Ps. 31, David, half-length, praying and man in well (33^v); Ps. 32, two men, half-length, praying to arc (34^v); Ps. 33, David praying to arc (36^v); Ps. 34, David facing arc and gesturing to two dead soldiers (37^r); Ps. 35, David facing arc and gesturing to nude woman behind him (39^r); Ps. 36, David looking at two nude seated figures (40^v); Ps. 37, David, half-length, praying to arc with building behind him (42^v); Ps. 38, David, half-length, facing arc and pointing to mouth, and nude man with helmet (43^v); Ps. 39, David, half-length, facing arc with building and well behind him (44^v); Ps. 40, Christ, half-length, giving loaf to half-length youth (46^r); Ps. 41, landscape with hart drinking (47^r); Ps. 42, David, half-length, praying with half-length soldier behind him (48^r); Ps. 43, two old men holding their ears and looking at arc (48^v); Ps. 44, Christ speaking to David, both half-length (50^r); Ps. 45, David, half-length, looking at arc (51^v); Ps. 46, David gesturing to arc and looking at crowd behind him (52^v); Ps. 47, David gesturing to arc with three kings crouching before him (53^r); Ps. 48, David, half-length, gesturing to two girls (54^r); Ps. 49, David, half-length, facing arc and two figures with amphora (55^v); Ps. 50, full-page image of David rebuked by and penitent before Nathan (57^r); Ps. 51, David and running figure (59^r); Ps. 52, David, half-length, facing arc with woman behind him carrying demon or animal on shoulder (59^v); Ps. 53, David handing object to soldiers (60^v); Ps. 54, Hand of God points finger at half-length David (61^r); Ps. 55, group of soldiers rushing at David (62^v); Ps. 56, armed and mounted king rides toward hiding David (63^v); Ps. 57, David addressing crowd, both half-length (64^v); Ps. 58, town and two soldiers (65^r); Ps. 59, David, half-length, facing arc while man sets fire to group of dead soldiers (66^v); Ps. 60, 61, 62, David, half-length, facing arc (67^v, 68^r, 69^r); Ps. 63, David, half-length, facing arc and gesturing to hunched figure in animal skins (69^v); Ps. 64, David, half-length, facing arc, and city (70^v); Ps. 65, 66, David, half-length, facing arc (71^v, 72^v); Ps. 67, Christ, half-length, dismissing crowd of naked demons (73^v); Ps. 68, David in waves to waist fac-

ing arc (76^r); Ps. 69, 70, David, half-length, facing Christ in arc (78^r, 78^v); Ps. 71, Christ in arc blessing bust-length David and queen (80^r); Ps. 72, David, half-length, before Christ in arc (81^v); Ps. 73, 74, David and royal figure, half-length (83^r, 85^r); Ps. 75, seated David and running messenger (86^r); Ps. 76, like 83^r (87^r); Ps. 77, full-page picture of Moses addressing Hebrews (89^v); headpiece (95^v); Ps. 78, David and soldiers, half-length, facing arc (93^v); Ps. 79, David, half-length, facing arc (90^v); Ps. 80, David, half-length, facing arc, and cavorting drummer and viol-player (96^r); Ps. 81, David and youth, half-length, facing arc (97^r); Ps. 82, 83, 84, 85, David, half-length, facing arc (97^v, 98^v, 99^v, 100^v); Ps. 86, half-length army facing city with bust of Emmanuel over gate (101^v); Ps. 87, David, half-length, facing arc (102^v); Ps. 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, Christ vigorously addressing half-length David from arc (103^v, 106^r, 107^r, 108^r, 109^r); Ps. 93, David, half-length, and Christ in arc while angel spears two huddled figures (109^v); Ps. 94, David and advisers, half-length, face sea, and Christ in arc (110^v); Ps. 95, Christ addresses half-length David from arc (111^v); Ps. 96, David, half-length, facing arc, which emits flames (112^v); Ps. 97, like 111^v (113^v); Ps. 98, David, half-length, facing Christ in mandorla flanked by seraphs (114^r); Ps. 99, 100, David, half-length, facing arc with Hand of God (115^r, 115^v); Ps. 101, David in proskynesis before Christ in arc (116^r); Ps. 102, David, half-length, facing arc with Hand of God (117^v); Ps. 103, David, half-length, facing Christ in arc (119^v); Ps. 104, David and crowd, half-length (121^r); Ps. 105, David and crowd, half-length, facing arc with Hand of God (123^r); Ps. 106, same without crowd (125^v); Ps. 107, David, half-length, facing arc with music book and lute in front of him (128^r); Ps. 108, David on knees before Christ in arc (128^v); Ps. 109, Christ confronting Ancient of Days (130^v); Ps. 110, David, bust-length, facing arc (131^r); Ps. 111, David, half-length, facing aged figure (132^r); Ps. 112, David, bust-length, before Hand of God (133^r); Ps. 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, David, half-length, before Hand of God (133^v, 135^v, 135^v, 136^r, 136^v); Ps. 118, David speaking to crowd (138^r); Ps. 119, David in proskynesis before Christ in arc (147^r); Ps. 120, like 133^v (147^v); Ps. 121, David, half-length, facing Christ in arc with church between them (148^r); Ps. 122, 123, like 133^v (148^v, 149^r); Ps. 124, David gesturing to Hand in arc and turning to man behind him (150^r); Ps. 125, like 133^v (150^v); Ps. 126, Christ gesturing from arc to David and a city (151^r); Ps. 127, David and two monks, half-length, facing Christ in arc (152^r); Ps. 128, Christ addressing David from arc (152^v); Ps. 129, Christ peering curiously from arc at David in proskynesis (153^r); Ps. 130, like 152^v (153^v); Ps. 131, David and crowd of bishops facing Christ in arc (154^r); Ps. 132, two women embracing (155^v); Ps. 133, David pointing at two women in proskynesis below baldachin whose top Christ, gesturing vigorously, uses as an arc (156^r); Ps.

134, David standing before Christ in arc (156^v); Ps. 135, David in proskynesis before Christ in arc (157^r); Ps. 136, unfilled space (158^r); Ps. 137, crowd beneath trees, from one of which hangs drum (159^r); Ps. 138, David, half-length, before Christ in arc (160^r); Ps. 139, David bowed, with soldier behind him, facing Christ in arc (161^v); Ps. 140, David, half-length, facing arc with star (162^v); Ps. 141, 142, David in proskynesis before arc (163^v, 164^v); Ps. 143, 144, David, half-length, praying before arc (165^v, 166^v); Ps. 145, David bowed to arc with hands crossed on chest (168^v); Ps. 146, David holding scroll to arc (169^r); Ps. 147, like 162^v (170^r); Ps. 148, 149, David, half-length, before arc (171^r, 172^r); Ps. 150, Christ, half-length, holding scroll and facing crowd led by bishop (172^v); Ps. 151, two scenes of David and Goliath (174^r); monk in proskynesis before the standing Virgin, full-page (175^v); Crossing of the Red Sea (176^v–177^r); Moses (179^v); Hannah (183^r); Habakkuk (184^r); Isaiah (186^v); Jonah (187^r); the three Hebrews in the furnace (188^r); Manasses (191^v). A miniature of the Virgin, now lost, left an imprint on 195^v. On 194^r, a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century image of a family worshipping an icon of the Virgin in a garden accompanies later prayers. The miniatures have brown or magenta underdrawings, and are badly flaked.

Script: Small, regular minuscule with varied letter forms and many uncials. The character of the script changes on 82^r and again on 90^r; so it is not entirely clear that the book is by a single hand.

Inscriptions: A calligraphic poem in a script contemporary with that of the Psalms appears on 174^v–175^r:

στίχοι εἰς τ(ὸ) ψαλτ(ή)ρ(ιον) καὶ εἰς τ(ὸν)
(μον)αχ(ὸν) Βαρνάβ(αν) καὶ μέγα οἰκο(νόμον)
Ἀνὴρ μέγιστος καὶ μοναχὸς(ς) Βαρνάβ(ας)
οἰκονόμος μέγιστος(ς) ἡγιασμένος(ς)
κτῆμασι τυγχάνουσιν ἐν νήσῳ Κύπρῳ
τοῦ π(α)τριάρχου τῆς(ς) Σιών τῆς ἀγ(ίας)
ὑπερβολικὸν τ(ὸν) πόθ(ον) κεκτημένος(ς)
τῶν δαυιτικῶν καὶ ψυχотρόφων λόγων
ψαλτήριον κάλλιστον ὥραισμέν(ον)
καὶ χρυσολαμπρόμορφον ἡγλαϊσμέν(ον)
ἔγραψεν ἱστόρησεν εὐσεβοφρόν(ως)·
ἐξ ἀρετῶν γὰρ λαμπρότης Βαρνάβ(ας)
ψυχ(ήν) καθαρθεὶς καὶ πτερωθεὶς τ(ὰς) φρέν(ας)
εἰς ὕψος ἀνέδραμε τῶν νοημάτων(ων)
τοῦ ψαλματωδοῦ καὶ προφητικωτ(ά)του·
ὅθεν παριδὼν ὕλικήν φαντασί(αν)
γέγραφε λαμπρῶς ψαλμικὰς ὕμνωδ(ας).
ὥς ἀξι(ως) τάξιτο τοῦτον δεσπότης(ης)
καὶ συναριθμήσονται(ο) μέτροις ἀγίων
ὥς προκρίναντ(α) τῶν χαμερπ(ών) πραγμ(ά)των
Ψυχῆς καθαρότητα καὶ νοδὸς κράτος.

Bibliography: K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus Graecus 923*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 8 (Princeton, 1979), 109 f., 259;

P. L. Vocotopoulos, "Ένα άγνωστο χειρόγραφο του κωδικογράφου Ιωάσαφ και οι μικρογραφίες του in Δελτ. Χρυστ. Ἀρχ. Ἔτ., 4,8 (1976), 195; A. Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter: The State of Research," in *XV^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines. Rapports et co-rapports*, III: *Art et archéologie* (Athens, 1976), 250 note 96, 253; A. Cutler and A. W. Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3, an Unpublished Illuminated Manuscript from the Family 2400," *REB*, 34 (1976), 281–323; D. Mouriki, review of R. Stichel, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild spät- und nach-byzantinischer Vergänglichkeitsdarstellungen*, in *BZ*, 66 (1973), 115–17; A. W. Carr, "The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament: Studies Toward the Re-attribution of Chicago, University Library MS. 965" (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1973), 71, 87, 91 note 12, 100 note 57; G. Lampakis, *Mémoires sur les antiquités chrétiennes de la Grèce* (Athens, 1902), 58, fig. 112 f.

2. Athens, Byzantine Museum, 820

Fragmentary Tetraevangelion containing: Matt. 13:33–17:24 (fols. 1–6), Matt. 18:24–24:19 (fols. 7–16), Matt. 25:1–25:31 and Matt. 26:64–27:14 (fols. 15–16), Matt. 27:35–end of Matthew and list of chapters to Mark (fols. 17–21), Mark 1:20–6:12 (fols. 22–27).

27 folios. Ruling type: Lake I 26 a.

15.7 × 12.9 cm. Justification 11.5 × 7.9 cm.

32 lines, 30–37 letters per line.

Black ink. Gold over magenta is used for initial letters, canon numbers, and chapter headings, both on the text pages and in the list at the beginning of Mark (fols. 21^{r-v}).

Quire marks: Magenta initials in the top, outer corner of the first page.

Quire composition: 1–6 (quaternion lacking outer union), 7–14, 15–16, 17–21 (residue of a quaternion), 22–27 (quaternion lacking outer union).

Miniatures: John the Baptist in prison (2^r); Christ rescuing Peter from drowning (3^v); the Transfiguration (6^r); Zebedee's wife appealing for her sons (9^v); Christ healing the two blind men of Jericho (9^v); Christ before Pilate (16^v); the Crucifixion (17^v); the Lamentation (18^v); Myrrhophores (18^v); Holy Women adoring the risen Christ (19^v); Christ's mission to the Apostles (20^r). An indecipherable miniature below the list of chapters on 21^v is a later insertion, probably made when the Transfiguration and Crucifixion miniatures were overpainted. There are no miniatures in the surviving leaves of Mark, and it may be that the Matthean Gospel alone was illustrated. The paint has flaked off almost entirely, revealing magenta underdrawings.

Script: A small, deceptively cursive minuscule very similar to that in Chicago 965.

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307, 320; V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 274, 333 note 25; E. C. Col-

well and H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (Chicago, 1936), *passim*, and see Index, II, 481; H. R. Willoughby, "Vagrant Folios from the Family 2400 in the Free Library of Philadelphia," *Byzantion*, 15 (1940–41), 127 note 8; *idem*, "Codex 2400 and Its Miniatures," *ArtB*, 15 (1933), 63, figs. 64–75; E. J. Goodspeed, D. W. Riddle, and H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (Chicago, 1932), *passim*, and see Index, III, 360; A. Xyngopoulos, *Σπαράγματα ιστορημένου Εὐαγγελίου*, in *Δελτ. Χρυστ. Ἀρχ. Ἔτ.*, 2,1 (1924), 8–21.

3. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Codex graecus, octavo 13

New Testament and Psalter with eleven Odes.

This book has been missing since the Second World War.

De Boor gives the following information on it.

251 folios.

18 × 13 cm.

Folios 1–4 contain elaborate Canon Table arches of which only the first has been filled with numbers. Folios 7–8 are later replacements, including an image of St. Matthew on folio 6^v. The leaves containing the portraits of Mark, Luke, and John have been cut out after 33, 50, and 78. After 247, a page with Habakkuk's Ode is missing.

Miniatures: Matthew (later addition—6^v); headpiece with bust of Emmanuel (101^r); busts in framed medallions showing James (127^r), Peter (130^r), John (135^r), and Jude (138^v); the youthful David playing a psalter (192^v); headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (193^r); David beheading Goliath (243^v); Moses leading the Hebrews to the Red Sea (243^v); Moses praying (244^v); Hannah kneeling in prayer (246^v); Habakkuk running (247^v); Jonah emerging from the whale (248^r); the three Hebrews in the furnace (249^r); the Virgin praying (250^v); Zachariah (251^v). The miniatures of David (192^v), Moses (243^v and 244^v), Hannah (246^v), and Habakkuk (247^v) occupy full pages. The colors have flaked badly, revealing facile underdrawings.

The manuscript was bought in July 1885 in Smyrna by the priest Phil. Meyer.

Bibliography: Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter" (*supra*, cat. 1), 233–34, 250 note 95, 256, figs. 1, 2, 8; Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, cat. 2), 335 note; Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*, and see Index, II, 481; J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, I (Helsingfors, 1895), 141; C. G. de Boor, *Verzeichniss der griechischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ed. W. Studemund and L. Cohn, I (Berlin, 1890), no. 389.

4. Chicago, University Library, 965

New Testament. A miniature of David on the final verso indicates that the book once contained a Psalter as well.

207 folios. Ruling type: Lake I 40 c.

20.8 × 15.5 cm. Justification 15.5 × 9.6 cm.

42 lines per page in the Gospels and 36 in the Praxapostolos, 58 letters per line.

Black ink. Section numbers and chapter titles are in gold over magenta. The beginnings and ends of thelections were added at a later time in vermilion.

Quire marks: Magenta or black initials in the top, outer corner of the first page.

Quire composition: 1, 2–5, 6, 7–8, 9–15, 16–22, 23–29, 30–35, 36–43, 44–49, 50–55, 56–63, 64–70, 71–76, 77–84, 85–90, 91–98, 99–105, 106–11, 112–17, 118–23, 124–29, 130–37, 138–45, 146–50, 151–56, 157–64, 165–72, 173–80, 181–88, 189–96, 197–204, 205, 206, 207. Folios 1 and 207 are separate flyleaves; 6 is a leaf of deeply dyed purple parchment of exceptional richness; 6^r and 206^r are blank; 7, 8, 60, 70, 146, and 151 are later leaves replacing lost ones. In addition, single leaves are missing after 16, 26, 63, 105, and 150; one or two leaves are missing after 83; and two leaves are missing after 87 and 114.

Miniatures: Canon Tables (2^v–5^v); Moses receiving the Law (6^v); the Nativity (9^v); Elizabeth fleeing into the mountain (9^v); John the Baptist preaching (10^r); John the Baptist preaching, prostrating himself before Jesus, and baptizing Jesus (10^v); the Sermon on the Mount (11^v); Jesus heals a leper (14^v); Jesus and the centurion of Capernaum (14^v); Jesus heals Peter's mother-in-law (15^v); Jesus heals the Gadarene demoniacs (15^v); Jesus calls Matthew (16^v); Jesus and the official of Capernaum (16^v); Jesus denouncing the Galilean cities (18^v); gathering grain on the Sabbath (18^v); Jesus cures the man with a withered hand (19^v); Jesus cures the blind and dumb demoniac (19^v); Jesus sought by members of his family (20^v); the dance of Salome (22^v); Jesus feeds five thousand (22^v); the Transfiguration (24^v); the Last Supper (31^v); Judas betrays Jesus (32^v); the Crucifixion (33^v); the Holy Women adore the risen Christ (34^v); St. Mark meditating (36^v); John the Baptist preaching (36^v); Jesus endowed with the Spirit after the Baptism (37^v); Jesus heals a demoniac in Capernaum (37^v); Jesus heals a multitude (38^v); Jesus heals the paralytic of Capernaum (38^v); Jesus heals the man with a withered hand (39^v); Jesus teaches about true kinship (40^v); Jesus preaches from a boat (40^v); Jesus stills the storm (41^v); Jesus heals a demoniac (42^v); Jairus appeals to Jesus (42^v); the woman with the bloody issue (43^v); Jesus raises Jairus' daughter (43^v); the way to the Transfiguration (46^v); Jesus anointed in the house of Simon Leper (51^v); the Holy Women at the empty tomb (54^v); St. Luke dipping his pen (55^v); the annunciation to Zacharias (56^v); the Annunciation (57^v); the Visitation (57^v); the birth of John the Baptist (58^v); the Nativity (59^v); the Presentation (59^v); John the Baptist in prison and before Herod (61^v); Jesus endowed with the Spirit while praying (61^v); Satan tempts Jesus (62^v); Jesus reads in the Synagogue (62^v); Jesus teaches in

the Synagogue (63^v); Jesus heals a demoniac in Capernaum (63^v); Jesus raises the son of the widow of Nain (65^v); Jesus anointed in the house of Simon Pharisee (66^v); the mission to the disciples (68^v); the Transfiguration (69^v); Jesus heals ten lepers (77^v); Christ blesses the disciples (84^v); St. John sitting with a half-open codex (85^v); the Anastasis (85^v); John the Baptist testifying to Christ (86^v); Moses receiving the Law (86^v); Jesus reveals God (86^v); the Baptist speaks of the Lamb of God (87^v); the wedding at Cana (87^v); an officer appeals to Jesus at Cana (88^v); Jesus cures the lame man at Bethesda (89^v); Jesus feeds five thousand (90^v); Jesus raises Lazarus (96^v); Jesus washes the feet of the disciples (98^v); Peter and the leaders at Jerusalem (106^v); the election of Matthias (106^v); the Pentecost (107^v); Peter and John heal a lame man at the Beautiful Gate (108^v); Peter and John before the Sanhedrin (109^v); the death of Ananias (111^v); Stephen sees his vision of God and Christ (114^v); Saul led to Damascus (115^v); Paul baptized (115^v); Peter heals Tabitha (116^v); Peter's vision of the unclean beasts (117^v); Peter released from prison (119^v); Paul cures a lame man at Lystra (122^v); half-length figures of James (138^v), Peter (141^v), and Jude (150^v); David playing a psaltery (206^v). At least twenty miniatures have been lost with the lost leaves, and a Psalter would have added further miniatures. The missing New Testament miniatures include: a second frontispiece facing the Moses on 6^v, St. Matthew; headpiece to Matthean Gospel; two or three illustrations to Matt. 9:20–38; one or two illustrations to Matt. 20:20–21:15; one illustration accompanying Luke 2:27–3:9; one illustration accompanying Luke 4:42–5:33; one or two scenes illuminating Luke 9:36–10:6; up to four scenes in Luke 23:39–24:21 if, as Willoughby proposes rather grandiosely (1932), two leaves are missing after 83; three scenes illustrating John 2:3–4:10; a portrait of St. Luke at the opening of Acts and a miniature illustrating Acts 1:10; two or three images accompanying Acts 7:56–9:3; one miniature illustrating Acts 16:39–17:22; an illumination accompanying Acts 19:25–20:7; and half-length portraits of John on the original 146 and Paul on the original 157. All of the surviving miniatures have flaked, many extensively, revealing facile underdrawings in magenta or brown.

Script: The script is a tiny, highly variegated and swiftly written minuscule with many uncial forms and a deceptively cursive appearance.

Inscriptions: On 7^v in the lower margin: 1891. Ἀπριλίου 20. B. K. On the final flyleaf is a clumsily written inscription:

ετουτο το εβαγγελιον
ινε των αλεξαντρου
βουβοτα και τω αφηροσεν
του σωτηρος και ει τις το απε
ξενοση εχε τας (αρχας των?) τηρακο

σηων δεκα και (ητ) θεοφορον
πατερον να ινε αφορησμενος
ιερεμιας ι

Bibliography: J. Folda, "Three Crusader Capitals in Jerusalem," *Levant*, 10 (1978), 150; L. Eleen, "Acts Illustration in Italy and Byzantium," *DOP*, 31 (1977), 267 ff.; Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 306 ff.; O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," *The Kariye Djami*, IV (Princeton, 1975), 142; P. Underwood, "Some Problems in Programs and Iconography of Ministry Cycles," *ibid.*, 294; A. W. Carr, "Chicago 2400 and the Byzantine Acts Cycle," *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines*, 3, 2 (1976), 1–29; K. Weitzmann, "The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts," *Byzantine Books and Bookmen. A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium* (Washington, D. C., 1975), 76; *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton University, 1973, no. 45 and pp. 167, 170; H. Kessler, "Paris, Gr. 102: A Rare Illustrated Acts of the Apostles," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 209–16; *New Testament Traditions*, University of Chicago Library, Chicago, 1970, no. 54; *A Catalogue to an Exhibition of Notable Books and Manuscripts*, University of Chicago Library, Chicago, 1970, no. 3; H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), 54; D. Glass, "The Archivolt Sculpture at Sessa Aurunca," *ArtB*, 52 (1970), 125; M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor* (Greenwich, Conn., 1968), I, 86; K. Wessel, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1968), col. 463; A. Bank, "Les monuments de la peinture byzantine du XIII^e siècle dans les collections de l'URSS," *L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle. Symposium de Sopotani* (Belgrade, 1967), 92, 101; M. Chatzidakis, "Aspects de la peinture murale du XIII^e siècle en Grèce," *ibid.*, 67; R. Hamann-Mac Lean, "Der Berliner Codex Graecus Quarto 66 und seine nächsten Verwandten als Beispiele des Stilwandels im frühen 13. Jahrhundert," *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift Hermann Usener* (Marburg, 1967), 225 note 3, 227 note 23, 238; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, cat. 2), 274–75 and note 23; D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting: The Last Phase* (London, 1967), 40; K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress for Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1967), 218 note 2; H. Buchthal, "Some Representations from the Life of St. Paul in Byzantine and Carolingian Art," *Tortulae. Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten, RQ, Suppl. 30* (Freiburg, 1966), 44; S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 175, 177 note; *Byzantine Art, an European Art*, Zappeion Exhibition Hall, Athens, 1964 (exhibition catalogue), no. 300; H. Buchthal, "An Unknown By-

zantine Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century," *Connoisseur*, 115 (1964), 217–18; O. Demus, "Studien zur byzantinischen Buchmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts," *JÖBG*, 9 (1960), 79, 88; V. Lazarev, "Novyj pamjatnik Konstantinopol'skoj miniatjury XIII v.," *VizVrem*, N.S. 5 (1952), 185; O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," *Berichte zum XI. internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, IV (Munich, 1958), 18, 53; *idem*, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1948), 271–72, 435; *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md., 1947, no. 722; K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 2 (Princeton, 1947), 142 note 34; D. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *ArtB*, 28 (1946), 24, 26; H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament and What Became of It: A Bibliographic Record* (Chicago, 1943); Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*; K. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 187–88; S. DeRicci and W. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in America*, I (Chicago, 1937), 616; Willoughby, "Codex 2400 and Its Miniatures" (*supra*, cat. 2); Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (*supra*, cat. 2).

5. *Jerusalem, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Saba 698*

Fragmentary Psalter. It begins on 3^r with the sixteenth Psalm. Psalms 136–51 and the Odes are fifteenth-century replacements. A yet later hand has added the akolouthia of the Virgin on 165–71.

171 folios. Of these, folios 1, 2, 9, 50, and 143–71 are paper additions of a later date. Ruling type: Lake I 26 a.

11.9 × 9 cm. Justification 8.5 × 5.7 cm.

20 lines per page, 20–23 letters per line.

Black ink, with gold letters at the beginning of each verse and gold attributions of the Psalms.

Quire marks: The only surviving one is a black cross in the middle of the top margin on 111^r.

Quire composition: 1–2 (paper), 3–8, 9 (paper), 10–17, 18–25, 26–33, 34–41, 42–49, 50–57 (50 is paper), 58–65, 66–73, 74–75, 76–83, 84–91, 92–97, 98–102, 103–10, 111–18, 119–26, 127–34, 135–42. The remaining folios are later. Folio 75^v was blank.

Illumination: Rectangular headpiece with vine-scrolls (76^r).

Script: Tiny, variegated, and deceptively cursive minuscule, resembling that of Brit. Lib., Add. 40753.

Inscriptions: An Arabic inscription on 75^r has faded to a shadow. Another, or a continuation of the first, was on 75^v but has been erased.

Bibliography: K. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem* (Washington, D.C., 1953), 13; A. Papadopou-

los-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (St. Petersburg, 1894), II, 653.

6. *Leningrad, Saltykov-Šchedrin Public Library, gr. 105*

Tetraevangelion, called the "Karahissar Gospels."

215 folios. Ruling type: Lake I 33 a.

18.7 × 13.3 cm. The pages have been trimmed. Justification 13 × 9.2 cm.

27 lines per page, *ca.* 30 letters per line.

Black ink.

Quire marks: An initial on the top, outer corner of the first page.

Quire composition: 1–4, 5–10, 11–18, 19–26, 27–34, 35–42, 43–50, 51–58, 59–66, 67–69, 70–77, 78–85, 86–93, 94–101, 102–7, 108, 109–16, 117–24, 125–32, 133–40, 141–48, 149–56, 157–64, 165, 166–72, 173–80, 181–89, 190–97, 198–203, 204–11, 212–13, 214–15. Folios 1^r–5^r, 9^v–10^v, 69^r, 108^r, and 174^r are blank. Some pages were mixed up in a rebinding of the book: 5 belongs between 10 and 11, 165 belongs between 172 and 173, and 181–89 are in the wrong sequence.

Miniatures: St. Matthew thinking (5^v); Canon Tables (6^r–9^r); carpet headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (11^r); the Adoration of the Magi (12^v); the Massacre of the Innocents (13^v); the Baptism (15^v); Jesus heals a leper (22^r); Jesus heals Peter's mother-in-law (23^r); Jesus heals two demoniacs (24^r); the Transfiguration (40^r); the Entry into Jerusalem (47^v); the Last Supper (60^r); Jesus on Gethsemane (61^r); Jesus betrayed by Judas (62^r); the Man of Sorrows (65^v); Myrrhophores and the Anastasis (67^r); the Holy Women adore the risen Christ (68^r); St. Mark dipping his pen (69^v); carpet headpiece with bust of Emmanuel (70^r); Jesus heals a leper (72^r); Jesus heals the man with a withered hand (74^r); Jesus heals the woman with the bloody issue (79^v); the Transfiguration (87^r); Jesus curses the fig tree (93^r); Jesus preaches the end of the age (97^r); the supper at Bethany (99^v); Jesus before Pilate (103^r); the Ascension (106^v); St. Luke writing (108^v); carpet headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (109^v); the Annunciation (110^v); Simeon Glykophilon (114^v); Jesus stills the storm (127^v); Jesus heals the Gerasene demoniac (128^r); the mission to the disciples (129^v); the feeding of five thousand (130^v); the Transfiguration (131^v); Jesus heals the epileptic boy (132^v); Jesus heals the dropsiac (144^v); Jesus heals ten lepers (150^v); the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (152^v); Jesus meets Zaccheus (154^v); Jesus sends two disciples for the colt (155^v); the Entry into Jerusalem (156^v); the parable of the widow's mite (159^v); the preparation for the Last Supper (161^v); Jesus on Gethsemane (163^v); St. John with a half-open codex (165^v); the way to Calvary (167^v); the Man of Sorrows (167^v); the Threnos (169^v); Peter and John at the empty tomb (170^v); the blessing of the Apostles (172^v); headpiece with the bust of

Emmanuel (173^v); the wedding at Cana (175^v); the Samaritan woman at the well (179^r); Jesus walks on water (182^v); the feeding of five thousand (183^v); the paralytic of Bethesda (185^v); Judas comes to betray Jesus (204^r); the Crucifixion (207^v); the Entombment (208^v); the doubting of Thomas (210^v); Jesus appears on Lake Tiberias (211^v); the breakfast by Lake Tiberias (212^v).

Script: Small, varied, and heavily abbreviated minuscule with many uncial forms. A secondary scribe copied 70^v–87^r and 127^r–148^v.

Inscriptions: Folios 1^r–5^r, 9^v–10^r, 107, 212^r, and 214^r–215^v carry numerous pilgrim inscriptions, of which the earliest is dated 1675. These inscriptions, which show that the book was in Karahissar as early as the seventeenth century, have been studied by Colwell.

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307–8; T. Dobrzeniecki, "Imago Pietatis, Its Meaning and Function," *Bulletin of the National Museum of Warsaw*, 12 (1971), 5; S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises de Mistra*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques, IV (Paris, 1970), 32 note 4; J. Stubblebine, "Segna di Bonaventura and the Image of the Man of Sorrows," *Gesta*, 8 (1969), 12; S. Dufrenne, "Images du décor de la prothèse," *REB*, 26 (1968), 298, 305, 307; Bank, "Les monuments de la peinture" (*supra*, cat. 4), 92–95; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, cat. 2), 278, 333 note 24; Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting* (*supra*, cat. 4), 40; K. Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR* (Berlin, 1966), 67–70; D. I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus—das Bild*, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 2 (Munich, 1965), 207–8, 226, 236, 249, 260; R. Bauerreis, "HO BASILEUS TES DOXES, Ein frühes eucharistisches Bild und seine Auswirkung," *Pro Mundi Vita*, Festschrift zum eucharistischen Weltkongress (Munich, 1960), 52; E. Granstrom, "K Voprosu o vizantijskom minuskule," *VizVrem*, 13 (1958), 222–45 and pl. 45; M. Parvis, "The Importance of the Michigan Manuscript Collection for New Testament Studies," *New Testament Studies* (Chicago, 1950), 132, 135; V. Cottas, "Contribution à l'étude de quelques tissus liturgiques," *SBN*, 6 (1940), 99; Willoughby, "Vagrant Folios" (*supra*, cat. 2), 127 note 8; F. G. Kenyon, review of Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, *JThS*, 38 (1937), 278–80; K. Höeg, "Comptes-rendus: Le Tétraévangile de Karahissar," *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), 701–10; F. Dölger, "Besprechung: E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*," *BZ*, 37 (1937), 390–94; Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, cat. 2); Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1910), 261, 328, 484 ff., 491, 543, 549, and figs. 328, 342, 383, 517, 519, 589.

7. *London, British Library, Additional 11836*

New Testament and Psalter.

v + 305 + iii folios. Numbers 176–79 have been omitted in the numbering. Ruling type: Like Lake I 31 b, but with a double vertical in the outer margin.

18.6 × 12.4 cm. Justification 12.2 × 8.2 cm.

34 lines per page, 44 letters per line.

Black ink, with gold-on-magenta canon numbers, initials, and chapter headings.

The text on the opening page of Matthew is also gold-on-magenta.

No quire marks.

Quire composition: 1–4, 5–12, 13–20, 21–28, 29–36, 37, 38–44, 45–52, 53, 54–59, 60, 61–68, 69–76, 77–84, 85–92, 93–96, 97, 98–105, 106–13, 114–21, 122–23, 124, 125–30, 131–38, 139–46, 147–54, 155–62, 163–70, 171–82 (numbers 176–79 omitted), 183–90, 191–98, 199–206, 207–14, 215–22, 223–30, 231–38, 239–45, 246–53, 254–56, 257–64, 265–66, 267, 268–75, 276–83, 284–91, 292–95, 296–97, 298–305. Folios 59^v, 60^r, 97^r, 124^r, 296^v, and 297^r were originally blank. The initial quire has been disturbed and should be bound as two separate unions: 4–1, 2–3. All full-page miniatures were apparently on independent folios, and losses have been heavy. In addition, a second leaf with further Marcan chapters should be postulated after 37, making a union with it; the first leaf of the quire 38–44 is missing with the opening to Mark's Gospel; the outer union of quire 125–30 is missing, and with it the opening to Acts; and the initial folio of quire 239–54 is missing, and with it the opening three Psalms.

Miniatures: Canon Tables (1–4); carpet headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (5^r); Luke writing (60^v); headpiece to Luke (61^r); John with a half-open codex (97^v); headpiece to John (98^r); grid with busts of the six Apostolic authors (124^v); magenta box for ornamental strip (170^v); Christ addressing Hebrews (267^v); David sheathing sword after beheading Goliath (296^v); approach to the Red Sea (297^v); Hebrew women dancing (298^r); Hannah (300^r); Habakkuk (301^v); Jonah emerging from the whale (302^r); three Hebrews in the furnace (302^v); the Virgin (304^v). Four full-page miniatures are missing: the portraits of Matthew and Mark, the portrait of David before the Psalms, and Nathan rebuking David after 257, on which the forty-ninth Psalm is crowded to its completion. The Canon Tables remain blank.

Script: Diminutive, calligraphic minuscule with ornate and varied letters.

Inscriptions: The paper folio v, clearly of fair antiquity, contains an *ex libris* attributed by Mango to the fifteenth century:

ἡ τῆς τῶ αὐτῶν βιβλί ἄρη ἐκ τῶν ναῶν
τοῦ ὁσίου πρξ ἡμῶν Βαρνάβα τοῦ Θαυμα

τουργ(οῦ) ἔξει τὰς ἀράς τ(ῶν) τῇ θεοφῶ
ρ(ων) πρῶν κ(αί) τῶ ἀνάθε(μα)

A second *ex libris* on 297^r, ascribed to the eighteenth century, reads:

Ἡ παροῦσα θεία, ἀγία καὶ ἱερὰ διαθήκη
τῆς νέ(ας) χάριτος, εἶναι τοῦ ὁσίου
καὶ θεοφύρου π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) ἡμῶν Βαρνάβα, τῆς
εὐαγγελιστῆς πόλεως βάσσας
καὶ ἐδέθη παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ εὐτελοῦς καὶ τῶν ἱερομο-
νάχων
ἐλαχίστου μακαρίου τοῦ πορφυροποῦλου καὶ
ἐσταχῶθη διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ δαπά-
νης τοῦ πανευλαβεστάτου καὶ αἰδεσιμωτάτου ἐν ἱε-
ρεῦσι καὶ πνευματικοῖς κῆρ
κυρίου πάπ(α) κῆρ Νικολάου : οἱ δ' ἐντυγχάνοντες
καὶ ἀναγινώσκον-
τες ἔρωσθε καὶ εὖ ἐν χ(ριστ)ῷ σ(ωτῇ)ρι ἡμῶν πρᾶτ-
τετε καὶ μὴ ἄμνημο-
νήσητε τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς θείαις καὶ ἱεραῖς
μυσταγωγίαις
καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν ἡμῶν ἀγίαις
προσευχαῖς ἵνα
τύχοιμεν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν ἀμήν ἀμήν
ἀμήν

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 302 note 29, 307–8, 315, 318; Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter" (*supra*, cat. 1), 250 note 96, 251 note 100; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, cat. 2), 279, 333 note 28; Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting* (*supra*, cat. 4), 40; Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript" (*supra*, cat. 4), 172 ff.; *Byzantine Art, an European Art* (*supra*, cat. 4); no. 299; K. Weitzmann, "Eine Pariser-Psalter-Kopie des XIII. Jahrhunderts," *JÖBG*, 6 (1957), 132; M. Richard, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum* (Paris, 1952), 18; Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (*supra*, cat. 4), 435; K. Weitzmann, "The Aristocratic Psalter Vatopedi 761: Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *JWalt*, 10 (1947), 50–51; Willoughby, "Vagrant Folios" (*supra*, cat. 2), 127 note 8; Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*; Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*; British Museum, *Guide to Exhibited Manuscripts*, III (London, 1923), no. 5; H. Omont, "Un nouveau manuscrit grec des évangiles et du psautier illustré," *CRAI*, 15 (1912), 514; British Museum, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1850), 10.

8. *London, British Library, Additional 40753*

Psalter, with Odes of Miriam, Moses, Hannah, the Three Hebrews, Habakkuk, Isaiah, and Jonah, and the Magnificat of the Virgin.

163 folios. Ruling type: Lake I 26 a.

8.7 × 6.5 cm. The pages have been trimmed. Justifications 5.7 × 4.4 cm. 21 lines, 35–40 letters per line.

Ink shades from dark brown to black. Titles and numbers of Psalms and the initial letter of each verse are in gold.

No quire marks.

Quire composition: 1, 2–9, 10–17, 18–25, 26–33, 34–41, 42–49, 50–57, 58–65, 66–73, 74–81, 82–89, 90–97, 98–105, 106–13, 114–21, 122–28, 129–36, 137–44, 145–52, 153, 154, 155–62, 163. Folios 1^r, 75^r, 153^r, and 159^r were originally blank. The sequence of leaves after 153 has been disturbed, and 155–62 are all remounted along the spine. The miniature of the three Hebrews should be after 160; the first page of their Ode is missing, as is the Virgin's Magnificat; and a torn stub indicates that a miniature is missing from the union to which 158 belongs.

Miniatures: David playing a rebab (1^v); headpiece (2^r); Nathan rebuking David (49^v); Moses preaching to the Hebrews (75^v); interlace band (76^r); decorative pattern of gold tracery (144^v); David combatting and beheading Goliath (145^v); the Hebrew women dancing (146^v); Moses (148^v); Hannah (152^v); the three Hebrews in the furnace (153^v); Habakkuk (155^v); Isaiah (157^v); Jonah (159^v); the Virgin (162^v). The stub of a further miniature, painted on the recto of the folio once forming a union with 158, has been misbound between the miniature of Isaiah and the beginning of his Ode. The paint has flaked off the miniatures almost entirely, showing brown underdrawings.

Script: Diminutive, varied and deceptively cursive minuscule with numerous uncial forms and highly decorative ligatures and flourishes.

Inscriptions: On 1^r there are three independent inscriptions. The first, in black ink, reads: ἀννης κομνήνης. The next, in brown, reads:

ἐγενίθιοι ὁ δουλος(ος) του Χριστου ονης ο τοῦ
αυτοῦ αδε(λφός) μηνι δεκεμβρίῳ εν τη υμερα
τρῆτοι ὅρα (.) ετους .ςψκβ. . . .

The year would be 1213. The third reads: ο Δαβιδ.

On 145^r the scribe of the book wrote in magenta:

Δα(βι)δ ὁπλισθεῖς τῆς τριᾶδος τὴν χάριν
λίθοις τετριτοῖ(?) καὶ τῇ μικρᾷ σφενδόνι,
Γολιάθ τὸν ἀλλόφυλον ἡξιφη(?) δόρον
αὔθις ἀναρεῖ καὶ κατασφάτει τάχος.

Bibliography: Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter" (*supra*, cat. 1), 250 note 96; Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 287–88, 290, 304 note 40, 307; British Museum, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1921–1925* (London, 1950), 167–68.

9. *Moscow, Historical Museum, gr. 88* (Information from Treu)

Tetraevangelion with Commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus.

274 folios.

31.9 × 22.8 cm. Justification 22.6 × 14.2 cm.

46 lines, 55–60 letters per line.

Black ink. Gold titles and chapter numbers.

Quire marks: letter in top, outer corner of the first page, sometimes in black and sometimes in magenta.

Quire composition: 1–3, 4–11, 12–19, 20–27, 28–35, 36–43, 44–51, 52–59, 60–67, 68–75, 76–83, 84–91, 92–99, 100–7, 108–15, 116–21, 122–29, 130–37, 138–45, 146–53, 154–60, 161–68, 169–75, 176–83, 184–90, 191–98, 199–202, 203–10, 211–218, 219–226, 227–34, 235–43, 244–51, 252–59, 260–67, 268–74. Folios 2^r–3^r, 120^v–121^v and 145^v are blank.

Miniatures: John Chrysostom writing, a drawing (1^v); John Chrysostom writing (3^v); headpiece with medallion bust of St. Matthew (4^r); headpiece with medallion picture of St. Mark (122^r); headpiece with medallion picture of St. Luke (146^v); headpiece with medallion picture of St. John (203^r).

Script: Small, round, deceptively cursive minuscule similar to that of Chicago 965, with a high proportion of uncial forms.

Inscriptions: An inscription of six lines has been erased from folio 174^v.

Bibliography: Treu, *Die griechische Handschriften* (*supra*, cat. 6), 272–74.

10. *Mount Athos, Laura, A 66* (information from Spyridon and Eustratiades)

Tetraevangelion.

195 folios.

23 × 15 cm.

Miniatures: St. Matthew writing (1^v); St. Mark sitting frontally (64^v); St. Luke writing (106^v); St. John with a half-open codex (161^v).

Inscriptions: At the end of the text is written: Βιβλίον τῶν κατηχομένων τῆς Λαύρας ἔτει ςψο ἰνδ. ε̅ παραμονὴ τῆς Ἀναλήψεως ἡμέρα γ̅ καὶ ὥρα ς̅

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307; Spyridon of Laura and Sophronios Eustratiades, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), 8.

11. *Mount Athos, Laura, B 26* (information from microfilm)

New Testament and Psalter, with the Odes of Moses, Miriam, Hannah, Habakkuk, Isaiah, Jonah, and the Three Hebrews, and the Magnificat of the Virgin.

iv + 270 folios. Numbering begins on folio i and goes through 268. Numbers 40, 53, 54, 56, 191, and 239 have been given twice, however, yielding 270 original leaves. Ruling type: Lake I 25 c.

16.7 × 12.3 cm. The pages have been trimmed.

41 lines, 50 letters per line.

Black ink.

Quire marks: an initial in the top, outer corner of the first page.

Quire composition: 5–10, 11–12, 13–20, 21–28, 29–38, 39–41, 42–49, 50–55, missing folio-57, 58–65, 66–73, 74–79, 80–85, 86–87, 88–95, 96–103, 104–7, missing folio-108, 109–16, 117–24, 125–32, 133–40, 141–48, 149–50, 151–58, 159–66, 167–74, 175–82, 183–90, 191–97, 198–205, 206–9, 210–17, 218–25, 226–27, 228–35, 236–44, 245–52, 253–62 with folios 260–61 inserted, 263–68. Folios 39^v–41^r, 56^r–57^r, 86^v–87^r, 108^r, 204^{r-v}, 206^r, 207^v 209^r, 226^r–227^r, 237^r, and 260^v–261^r are blank, and it may be that the entire span from 204^r–209^r, now occupied by Easter tables, was originally blank.

Miniatures: Canon Tables (6^r–6^v); St. Matthew with hand on lectern (12^v); headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (13^r); St. Mark sitting frontally (41^v); headpiece (42^r); St. Luke writing (57^v); headpiece (58^r); St. John in armchair responding to arc of Heaven (87^v); headpiece (88^r); St. Luke writing (108^r); carpet headpiece with bust of Emmanuel (109^v); busts in framed medallions showing James (137^v), Peter (140^v), John (145^r), and Jude (149^v); St. Paul and Timothy (150^v); headpiece (151^r); David in profile playing viol (209^v); carpet headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (210^v); Nathan rebuking David (227^v); Moses preaching to the Hebrews (237^v); David confronting Goliath (260^v); Moses leading Hebrews to Red Sea (261^v); Hebrew women dancing (262^r); Hannah kneeling (264^r); Habakkuk listening to arc of Heaven (264^v); Isaiah, half-length (265^v); Jonah emerging from the whale (266^v); the three Hebrews in the furnace (266^v); the Virgin orante (268^r). The miniatures have flaked badly, revealing facile underdrawings of magenta.

Script: A diminutive, varied, deceptively cursive script that is very like that of Chicago 965.

Inscriptions: Along with the quatrain on the Word inscribed at the end of the Gospels (see *supra*, p. 42), there is a later verse on 11^v:

Ἐνταῦθα τὴν θέλγουσαν εἰκότως λύραν
κινῶν τελώνης συγκινεῖ καὶ τοὺς λίθους
ὅθεν πλάνος σίγησον Ὁρφῆως λύρα
πόνους Ἰλαρίων γὰρ ἤρμωσε ξένην
καθημεροῦσαν τὴν λιτότροπον φύσιν.

More important are the inscriptions on 268^v, done at different times, describing the book's donation to the Laura and its presumed date:

αὕτη ἡ βίβλος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ ἀγί(ου)
εὐα(γγε)λ(ίου), καὶ τῶν θειοτάτων καὶ ἀγίων
ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ
ψαλτηρίου ὑπάρχει τοῦ τιμωτάτου καὶ
εὐγενεστάτου ἀρχοντος κ(υρ)οῦ Δημητρίου
τοῦ Σαλιβαρά ἀπὸ τὸ Κίτρος καὶ ἐπεδόθη
διὰ ψυχικὴν σ(ωτη)ρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ θεῖα καὶ
ιερά καὶ σεβ(ασμία) βασιλικῇ μονῇ τῆς
Λαύρας. Καὶ ὅστις βουλῇθῃ ἀποσπᾶσθαι

αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τὴν ῥηθείσαν ἀγίαν μονὴν ἐχέτω
τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν π(α) καὶ ὠκτῶ θεοφόρων
πα(τέ)ρων ἐν Νικαία καὶ πάντ(ων)
τῶν ἀγίων.
ἐπὶ ἔτους ζ'μζ
Ἐγράφη ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλεί(ας) τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου κ(αὶ)
φιλοχρίστου κυ(ροῦ) Ἀλεξίου μ(ε)γ(ά)λλ(ου) δούκα
σεμβας
τοῦ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ ἐπὶ ἔτ(ους) ζφζκβ κύ(κλω) (ἡλίου)
ϥ
κυ(κλω) (σεληνης) πῆ ενδ(ικτιωνος) πῆ ἡ ἀπόκρεα
ἱανουαρίω λᾶ νομ(ικὸν) φάσκ(α) μ(α)ρ(τίω) πῆ
χρ(ιστιανὸν) πάσχ(α) μ(α)ρ(τίω) πῆ ἡ νηστεία
τ(ων) ἀγ(ίων) ἀποστόλ(ων) ἡμέρ(αι) λς

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307, 350; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, cat. 2), 279, 333 note 27; Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript" (*supra*, cat. 4), 172–73; H. Brockhaus, *Mönchsländ Athos* (Munich, 1945), 204–5; Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (*supra*, cat. 4), 435; K. Weitzmann, "An Early Copto-Arabic Miniature in Leningrad," *Ars Islamica*, 10 (1943), 123, fig. 6; Willoughby, "Vagrant Folios" (*supra*, cat. 2), 127 note 8; K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934–39), III, MS 110, pl. 188; E. C. Colwell, "A Misdated New Testament Manuscript: Athos, Laura B 26 (146)," *Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (London, 1937), 183–88; Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim.*, A. Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament," *ArtB*, 16 (1934), *passim.*; Willoughby, "Codex 2400" (*supra*, cat. 2), 19; Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim.*; G. Millet and S. Der Nersessian, "Le psautier arménien illustré," *REArm*, 9 (1929), 165, 178–79, pl. xv; Spyridon and Eustratiades, *Catalogue* (*supra*, cat. 10), 15.

12. Mount Athos, Laura, B 100

Catena in Job.

196 folios.

30 × 22 cm.

Black ink.

Miniatures: Job and Sophar (7^v); Job and three friends (8^r); Job and Bildad (21^v); Job and three friends (26^v); Job and Sophar (39^v); Job and three friends (45^v); Job and Eliphaz (62^v); Job and three friends (71^v); Job and Bildad (79^v); Job and three friends (83^v); Job and Sophar (89^v); Job and three friends (96^v); Job and Eliphaz (101^v); Job and three friends (114^v); Job and three friends (124^v); Job and Eliphaz (138^v); Job and friend (139^v); Job and three friends with Elious (141^v); Job and three friends with Elious (146^v); Job and friend (150^v); Job and Elious (153^v); Job and Christ (165^v); blue horse (174^v); brown deer, birds, and horse (174^v); woman twined in snakes (180^v); same

woman (181^v); Job and Christ (189^v); Job and friends bring offerings (191^v); Job with sons and daughters (192^r); Job's funeral (194^v).

Script: Small, varied, and deceptively cursive minuscule.

Bibliography: K. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken Athos* (Hamburg, 1963), 29–30; Spyridon and Eustratiades, *Catalogue* (*supra*, cat. 10), 27.

13. *Mount Athos, Stauronikita 57* (information from microfilm)

Psalter and Odes through Ode of Hezekiah.
96 folios.

21.8 × 17.3 cm. Justification 17 × 13.5 cm.

31 lines, 40 letters per line.

Black ink.

No quire marks.

Composition: Folios 1–4 have a later text; 55–59, containing the end of Psalm 87 through the beginning of Psalm 97, have been supplied by a later hand; 1–4, 32^r, 47^v, 59^v, 86^v and 87^v were originally blank.

Miniatures: headpiece containing David playing the psaltery and surmounted by the figure of David combatting a lion (5^r); Nathan confronting David (32^v). The paint is flaked, showing brown underdrawings. Psalm 77 (48^r), Psalm 151 (87^r), and the first Ode (88^r) all face blank pages. Separate leaves with illuminations may once have been introduced at these points.

Script: Diminutive, variegated, with sharp contrasts in scale.

Inscriptions: A later hand has written verses about Psalms 50 and 77 on 31^v–32^r and 47^v. On 33^r the same hand writes: ἔλεῃσον με ὁ Θεός κατὰ . . .

Bibliography: S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I (Amsterdam, 1966), 79.

14. *Mount Athos, Vatopedi, 851* (information from microfilm)

Catholic Epistles and Psalter with Odes.
192 folios.

21.6 × 14.7 cm. Justification 16.9 × 12.3 cm.

33 lines, 41 letters per line.

Black ink. Beginnings and ends of lections have been indicated by a later hand.

Quire marks: Residue of a black cross at the top center of 57^r.

Composition: Folios 4^v, 40^v–41^v, 122^r–123^r, and 154^r are blank; 1^r–4^r have a later text.

Miniatures: headpiece to Acts (5^r); half-length portraits of James (41^r), Peter (44^v), John (51^r), and Jude (55^v); David playing the psaltery (123^v); Moses preaching to the Hebrews (154^v); dance of the Hebrew women (184^r); Moses (184^v); Hannah kneeling (186^v); Ananias (187^r); Isaiah (187^v); Jonah kneeling (188^r); the three Hebrews in the furnace (188^v); the Virgin orante (190^r). The paint has flaked, revealing magenta

underdrawings. Miniatures of Paul, David combatting Goliath, and Moses leading the Hebrews to the Red Sea may have been lost.

Inscriptions: A later inscription on 40^v was too blurred on the microfilm to read.

Bibliography: Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter" (*supra*, cat. 1), 254; Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307; S. Eustratiades and Arkadios, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μονῇ Βατοπεδίου ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων* (Paris, 1934), 163.

15. *Mount Athos, Vatopedi, 939* (information from microfilm)

New Testament, with Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus (31^{r-v}). A later hand has added hypotheses to the Gospels (1^v, 81^v, 112^r, and 162^v) and a Synaxary (11^r–30^r, 349^r–356^v). A yet later hand has added texts on 3^r–10^v and 348^{r-v}.

357 folios.

18.1 × 13.1 cm. Justification 12.5 × 8.8 cm.

29 lines per page, 30–36 letters per line.

Black ink. Chapter headings and canon numbers accompany the text. The lections have been marked by a later hand, and the lists of chapters (2^r, 82^r, 112^v, 163^r) are also later.

Quire marks: Occasional initial in the top, outer corner of the first page.

Composition: Folios 2^{r-v}, 30^v, 36^r, 82^r, 112^r–113^r, 162^v–163^r, and 200^r were originally blank; 325–335 are later additions.

Miniatures: Canon Tables (32^r–35^v); St. Matthew writing (36^v); carpet headpiece with bust of Emmanuel, and *beta* composed of monkey and snake (37^r); St. Mark seated frontally (82^v); carpet headpiece (83^r); St. Luke dipping his pen (113^v); carpet headpiece (114^r); St. John thinking (163^v); carpet headpiece (164^r); St. Luke writing (200^v); carpet headpiece (201^r); half-length images of James (244^r), Peter (248^v), John (254^r), Jude (261^v), and Paul (263^r).

Script: Small, variegated, and irregular, with abbreviations and hasty ligatures.

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307, 318; Willoughby, "Vagrant Folios" (*supra*, cat. 2), 127 note 10; Eustratiades and Arkadios, *Κατάλογος* (*supra*, cat. 14), 173.

16. *New York, H. P. Kraus*

Tetraevangelion.

i + 342 + xi folios. Numbering includes the paper fly-leaf at the beginning. Number 122 has been left out, and the folios after 133, 240, and 291 are unnumbered. Ruling type: Lake I 31 b.

22 × 15.7 cm. Justification 15.2 × 9.2 cm.

20 lines per page, 20 letters per line.

Black ink, with gold-over-magenta initials and canon numbers. The text on the opening page of each Gos-

pel is gold-on-magenta. Lections have been indicated in pale red by a later hand.

Quire marks: Black cross in the center of the top margin on the first page; black initial in the top, outer corner of the same, with horizontal strokes above and below, and a vertical stroke below.

Quire composition: 2–3, 4–11, 12–19, 20–27, 28–35, 36–43, 44–51, 52–59, 60–67, 68–75, 76–83, 84–91, 92–97, 98–101, 102–9, 110–17, 118–26, 127–33 bis, 134–41, 142–49, 150–57, 158–65, 166–73, 174–81, 182–89, 190–95, 196–203, 204–11, 212–19, 220–27, 228–35, 236–42, 243–50, 251–58, 259–66, 267–74, 275–80, 281–88, 289–93, 294–301, 302–9, 310–17, 318–25, 326–33, 334–41, 342. Folios 3^r and 101^r are blank.

Miniatures: St. Matthew writing (3^v); headpiece with Nativity, and *beta* composed of snake and staff (4^v); St. Mark sitting frontally (101^v); headpiece with Baptism, and *alpha* composed of gold figure with pointed hat and crutch (102^v); St. Luke dipping his pen (165^v); headpiece with birth of the Baptist; and *epsilon* formed of a bird (166^r); St. John sitting inactive (266^v); headpiece with Anastasis, and *epsilon* with hand at center (267^r).

Script: Angular and varied minuscule with many enlarged uncial letters and a number of decorative ligatures and abbreviations.

Inscriptions: On folio 340^v, at the end of the Johannine Gospel, is a scribal colophon:

ἔλαβε δὲ τέλος κατὰ μῆνα Ἰουλίου
ινδικτιῶνος δ' τοῦ 'ζχκδ' ἔτους

On 341^{r-v} the scribe has written in flourishing script:

Στίχοι εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Τετραευαγγελίου:
Τοῦ τῆς Κύπρου μὲν ποιμένος καὶ δεσπότου
μακαριωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου
τοῦ ποιμενάρχου Κυπρίων Ἰω(άννου)
τῇ προσταγῇ γέγραφε τήνδε τὴν βίβλ(ον)
γραφεὺς Μανουὴλ Ἀγιοστεφανίτης)
ὁ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάνυ ὑπερσόφου
εὐεργετηθεὶς πολλάκις ἀνενδότ(ως)
ὅς καὶ πεφυκ(ὼς) εὐτελέστατ(ος) θύτ(η)ς
τοῦ παντάνακτος ἐργοτεχνίτου λόγου
ἐπευχαιριστεῖ καὶ τρανῶς μεγαλύνει
τὸ χρυσοτευκτόμορφον ἀγλαὸν στόμα
καὶ ψυχοτερπέστατον εὐμελὲς μέλος
καὶ πνευματοπρόβλητον εὐμενὲς μένος
κροτούμενον κρούματι πανσθενοκρότῳ
νοοτρόφους ἱγῆρας εὐχεσάτους
εἰς πᾶσαν ἀνέμελψε τὴν οἰκουμένην
ἢ καὶ λελοιπ(ὼς) τὴν χρυσόβλυτον βίβλ(ον)
σειρηνοθελκότερπον εὐμελεστάτ(ην)
πᾶσαν ἀκριβῶς ἠκριβῶσε δελτάδα
εὐχῶν δὲ κατάπαυσιν οὐδαμ(ῶς) φέρει
πρὸς τὸν μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχιεράρχην
τὴν χρυσοβουτόρρουτον ὑδάτ(ων) ῥύσ(ιν)
καὶ μυσταγωγὸν εὐσεβῶν διδασκάλ(ων)
καὶ κήρυκα κράτιστον ἀληθῶν λόγων

Ἐπιφάνιον ἀπόστολον τὸν μέγαν
ὥς ἂν νέμοιτο τῷ ποιμενάρχῃ τούτου
ζωὴν πολυχρόνιον ὑγείας πλάτος
εὖρωστον, εὐφρόσυνον, εὐθυμον βί(ον)
Ἄλλ' ὃ μάκαρ πρώτιστε τῶν μακαρῶν
ὃ τερπνολαμπρότατε χρυσὲ τοῖς λόγοις
τοῖς ἡδυτάτοις καὶ ψυχοτρόφοις λόγοις
χάριν ἀνεξάντλητον ἢ βροῦσιν νέμοις
πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν χρόνοις πολυχρόνοις
τῷ τήνδε βίβλ(ον) προστάξαντι γενέσθαι.

Bibliography: M. Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues des manuscrits grecs*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1958), 29; J. Darrouzès, "Autres manuscrits originaux de Chypre," *REB*, 14 (1957), 135; K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts* (*supra*, cat. 11), index, 180; S. P. Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀνδρον μνητῆς Ἀγίας κωδίκων*, in *Ἑπετηρίδι τοῦ φιλολογικοῦ Παρνασσοῦ*, 2 (1898), 167–69.

17. *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Roe 6*

Liturgical Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, with sermon for Easter by John Chrysostom on folio 1.

iv + 186 folios. Folio iv and folios 1–185 belong to the book. Ruling type: Lake I 26 c.

20 × 14 cm. The book has been trimmed. Justification 15 × 10.5 cm.

30 lines per page, 43 letters per line.

Black ink with gold initial letters.

Quire marks: Red or black cross in center of top margin of first page; black initial in the top, outer corner of the same page.

Quire composition: iv, 1, 2–9, 10–17 (later replacement), 18–25, 26–33, 34–37, 38–45, 46–53, 54–61, 62–69, 70–73, 74–81, 82–89, 90–97, 98–105, 106–13, 114–15, 116–23, 124–27, 128–35, 136–43, 144–49, (144 and 147 both given twice), 150–57 (later replacement), 158–59, 160–67, 168–75, 176–83, 184–85. Folios 72^r–73^r, 114^r–115^r, 127^{r-v}, 158^r–159^r, 166^v–167^r, and 185^v are blank.

Miniatures: Gregory Nazianzus writing (iv^v); the Anastasis in headpiece, and *alpha* twined with snake and topped by cock (2^r); vision of Habakkuk in headpiece, and *epsilon* composed of figure of Gregory (4^r); St. Mamas in headpiece (18^r); the Pentecost (22^r); full-page Nativity (30^v); mourning of St. Basil in headpiece (38^r); full-page Baptism (73^v); full-page picture of nine martyrs in Heaven (103^v); full-page picture of Gregory of Nyssa hearing exhortation of Gregory Nazianzus (110^v); full-page image of Gregory Nazianzus and the one hundred fifty bishops (115^v); St. Athanasius in headpiece (128^r); full-page scene of Gregory and the tax-collectors (143^v); full-page image of the Maccabees and their parents (159^v), half-length image of St. Cyprian in headpiece (167^v); full-page picture of Gregory exhorting the people (175^v). The paint is flaked, revealing magenta underdraw-

ings. In the Pentecost the paint was retouched at a later date.

Script: Very small, varied, and deceptively cursive minuscule, with many uncial forms.

Inscriptions: Folios 73^r, 114^r, and 184^v–185^v have later annotations and similar scrawls have been erased from 114^v–115^v. Beneath the image of St. Gregory on iv^v Thomas Roe has written:

Thomas Roe Eque Aurat^{us} et Seren[issi]mi magnae Britanniae etc. regis apud Turcarum Imperatorem Orator, in gratitudinis sua erga Matrem Academ[iam] perpetuum testimonium hunc librum, quem ex Oriente secum aduexit pub[licae] Bibliotheca. AD 1628.

Bibliography: I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, I (Stuttgart, 1977), no. 53; Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307; H. O. Coxe, *Greek Manuscripts*, Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues, I (Oxford, 1969), 462; G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 6 (Princeton, 1969), 12 ff., 22 ff., 233–35, figs. 434–50; *Byzantine Art, an European Art* (*supra*, cat. 4), no. 348; O. Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination*, Bodleian Picture Books, 8 (Oxford, 1952), 9–10, fig. 23; H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiū Aulique Oxoniensis Hodie Adservantur*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1853), 10.

18. *Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 31*

Tetraevangelion.

i + 127 folios. Folio i belongs to the manuscript. Ruling type: Lake I 26 c.

17.8 × 12.6 cm. Tops of pages trimmed. Justification 13.2 × 8.1 cm.

33 lines per page, 37 letters per line.

Black ink, with gold chapter numbers, chapter headings, and initial letters.

The text on the first page of the Matthean and Markan Gospels is magenta. A later hand has marked thelections in vermilion.

Quire marks by a later hand.

Quire composition: i, 1–8, 9–16, 17–24, 25–30, 31–36, 37–44, 45–52, 53–58, 59–60, 61–68, 69–76, 77–84, 85–92, 93–97, 98, 99–106, 107–14, 115–22, 123–25, 126. Folios i^r, 36^{r–v}, 58^v–60^r, and 98^r were blank. Folios 36^v, 58^v–60^r, and 98^r now carry later lists of chapters by the same hand that replaced the final page of the Johannine Gospel.

Miniatures: St. Matthew writing (i^r); carpet headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (1^r); carpet headpiece to Marcan Gospel with central medallion unfilled (37^r); St. Luke dipping his pen (60^v); carpet headpiece (61^v); St. John with half-open codex (98^v); carpet headpiece (99^r). A miniature of St. Mark, probably on a separate folio between 36 and 37, is now lost. The miniatures are badly flaked, revealing magenta underdrawings. The colors in the Matthean headpiece are later replacements.

Script: Exceedingly small, variegated, and deceptively cursive minuscule.

Inscriptions: A later *ex libris* on i^r is nearly illegible, but Nigel Wilson has helped me to decipher the word Jerusalem and the date 1666.

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 315; Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, cat. 2), II, 4 note 2.

19. *Oxford, Lincoln College, 31*

Psalter and Odes.

207 folios. Folios 1–42 and 207 are later paper additions. The folio after 86 is not numbered. Ruling type: Lake I 26 c.

15.4 × 10.1 cm. Justification 10.5 × 7 cm.

21 lines per page, 21 letters per line.

Black ink, with magenta titles, numbers, initial letters, and dots at the ends of the lines.

Quire marks: Cross in the center of the top margin of the first page; initial in the top, outer corner of the same page.

Quire composition: 43–50, 51–58, 59–66, 67–68, 69–76, 77–83, 84–90, 91–98, 99–102, 103–10, 111–18, 119–26, 127–34, 135–42, 143–50, 151–58, 159–66, 167–74, 175–82, 183–90, 191–96, 197–202, 203–6, 207.

Folios 68^r and 195^v are blank.

Miniatures: barely legible miniature of Nathan rebuking David (68^v); ornamental strip (103^r); David combating Goliath (194^v). There may well have been a frontispiece to Psalm 77 on a leaf inserted between 102 and 103. A frontispiece to the Odes is harder to reconstruct, since it would have fallen between 195 and 196.

Script: A diminutive, upright, and angular minuscule with varied forms but few abrupt contrasts in scale.

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307; Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS.* (*supra*, cat. 17), I, Lincoln College, 17.

20. *Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, Deposito Museo, 4*

New Testament and Psalter with Odes of Miriam, Moses, Hannah, Habakkuk, Isaiah, Jonah, and the Three Hebrews, and the Magnificat of the Virgin.

iv + 294 + iv folios. Ruling type: Lake I 40 c.

21.2–21.5 × 15.8–16.2 cm. The pages have been trimmed at the top. Justification 14.8 × 9.7 cm.

34 lines per page, about 41 letters per line.

Black ink, with gold-on-magenta canon numbers, initials, and chapter headings.

Quire marks: Residues remain of black crosses at the center of the top margin of the first page, and of initials in the top, outer corner of the same page.

Quire composition: 1–2, 3, 4–9, 10–17, 18–25, 26–29, 30, 31–38, 39–46, 47–54, 55–58, 59–62, 63–70, 71–78, 79–86, 87–88, 89, 90–97, 98–105, 106–7, 108–15, 116–17, 118, 119–26, 127–34, 135–42, 143–51, 152–59, 160–64, 165–66, 167–74, 175–82, 183–90, 191–98, 199–206, 207–14, 215–22, 223–29, 230–37, 238–45, 246–49, 250–57, 258–65, 266–73, 274–81, 282–88, 289–92, 293–94. Folios 3^r, 30^r, 88^v, 89^r, 118^v, 166^r, 249^{r-v}, and 287^r are blank. The end of Matthew and the first three chapters of Mark have been misplaced and now occupy 39–62. The full-page miniatures, with the exception of St. Paul, are on inserted leaves, and there have been some losses: the miniature of St. Mark after 58, a frontispiece to the Psalms after the missing leaf following 229, a picture of David and Nathan after 249, and an image of David and Goliath after 286. The folios with the bust of St. John and the beginning of his Epistle, and the image of Moses and the opening of the second Ode (originally following 160 and 288), are now in the Free Library in Philadelphia.

Miniatures: Canon Tables (1^r–2^v); St. Matthew writing (3^v); carpet headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (4^r); St. Luke dipping his pen (30^v); headpiece (31^r); St. John with a half-open codex (89^v); St. Luke writing (118^v); headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (119^r); framed medallion busts of James (152^r) and Jude (164^v); St. Paul with Timothy (166^v); headpiece (230^r); Moses approaching the Red Sea, and the Hebrew women dancing (287^v); Hannah (289^r); Habakkuk (289^v); Isaiah (290^v); Jonah emerging from the whale (291^r); the three Hebrews in the furnace (291^v); the Virgin orante (293^v). The miniatures are flaked, revealing magenta underdrawings.

Script: A diminutive, tidy, and fluent version of the variegated script seen in Chicago 965 that has at times been attributed to the same scribe.

Inscriptions: On 3^r one finds:

ἔχομεν διὰ τὴν παραδιδώσης (sic) τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείσης Κωνσταντίας ἢ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Σωτήρος ἡ ἁσκήτρια.

Habemus per traditionem . hunc librum elle Regine Constantie que in hac monasterio SS^{mi} Salvatorii in rerū divinarū meditatione se exercuit.

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, cat. 2), 333 note 57; Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting* (*supra*, cat. 4), 40; A. Daneu Lattanzi, *I manoscritti ed incunaboli miniati delle Sicilia, I: Biblioteca Nazionale di Palermo, I manoscritti miniati delle biblioteche italiane*, 2 (Rome, 1965), 11–14, pls. I, II; *idem*, *Lineamenti di storia della miniatura in Sicilia* (Florence, 1965), 21; *Byzantine Art, an European Art* (*supra*, cat. 4), no. 298; *Mostra di manoscritti in occasione dell'VIII Congresso internazionale di*

studi bizantini, ed. G. Valentini (Palermo, 1951), no. 16, pls. 9, 10; Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (*supra*, cat. 4), 410, 414 note 51; Willoughby, "Vagrant Folios" (*supra*, cat. 2), 126–32; Colwell and Willoughby *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*; E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, I (Milan, 1893), 141–46.

21. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Coislin gr. 200

New Testament

iv + 300 + iv folios. Ruling type: Lake I 26 a.

17.5 × 13 cm. Justification 12.2 × 7.8 cm.

30 lines per page, 35 letters per line.

Black ink, with gold chapter headings and chapter numbers.

Quire marks: In the top, outer corner of the first page an initial with a diagonal and a horizontal stroke above it and two horizontal strokes and a vertical below it, usually in magenta but sometimes in black.

Quire composition: iv–2, 3–10, 11–18, 19–24, 25–30, 31–38, 39–42, 43–50, 51–58, 59–64, 65–68, 69–74, 75–82, 83–91, 92–98, 99–106, 107–10, 111–18, 119–26, 127–34, 135–42, 143–51, 152–58, 159–66, 167–74, 175–82, 183–86, 187–96, 197–202, 203–10, 211–15, 216–25, 226–32, 233–40, 241–48, 249–56, 257–64, 265–72, 273–80, 281–88, 289–96, 297–300. Folios 42^r, 109^r and 142^r are blank.

Miniatures: St. Matthew writing (2^v); carpet headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (3^r); St. Mark thinking (42^v); carpet headpiece (43^r); St. Luke dipping his pen (68^v); carpet headpiece (69^r); St. John with half-open codex (110^v); carpet headpiece (111^r); St. Luke writing (143^r); half-length images of St. James (188^r), St. Peter (192^v), St. John (201^r), St. Jude (207^v), and St. Paul (210^r). The miniatures are badly flaked, revealing facile magenta underdrawings.

Inscriptions: On folio 1^r there is a series of texts in Latin indicating that the codex was given by the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus to King Louis IX of France in conjunction with meetings on the unity of the Greek and Latin churches held in France in 1269, and mentioning the marriage of Michael's daughter to Abaka, the son of Hougalou. Further inscriptions in Latin, mostly translations, fill the margins of many pages. On folio 2^v, in the margins of the miniature of St. Matthew, there is a black scrawl:

Μιχαὴλ ἐν Χριστῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, Δούκας, Ἄγγελος, Κομνηνός, ὁ Παλαιολόγος

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307; A. Cutler, "The Spencer Psalter: A Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Manuscript in the New York Public Library," *CahArch*, 23 (1974), 148, 150; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, cat. 2), 278–79, 332 note 22, pl. 374; Buchthal, "An Unknown Byzantine

Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century," (*supra*, cat. 4), 217–18; *Byzance et la France médiévale*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits, Paris, 1958 (exhibition catalogue), no. 47; N. B. Drandakis, 'Ο ναός τῶν Ἀγίων Θεοδώρων τῆς Λακωνικῆς Τρύπης, in Ἑπ. Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ., 25 (1955), 67; R. Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, II: Le fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), 177–79; Willoughby, "Vagrant Folios" (*supra*, cat. 2), 127 note 8; K. Höeg, "Comptes-rendus" (*supra*, cat. 6), 701–8; Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*; Willoughby, "Codex 2400" (*supra*, cat. 2), 17–18; Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*; H. Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), 226; B. de Xyvre, "Notice d'un manuscrit grec du XIII^e siècle," *BECh*, 24 (1863), 97–118.

22. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément grec 927*

Tetraevangelion.

Numbered 1–199, of which 1–6 and 174–99 are paper leaves with a later Synaxary. Ruling type: Lake I 26 a.

15.5 × 11 cm. Justification 11 × 6.8 cm.

26–27 lines per page, 29 letters per line.

Black ink, with titles, chapter numbers, and initials in gold on magenta. Lections have been marked by a later hand in red.

Quire marks: Black initial in the top, outer corner of the first page.

Quire composition: 7–14, 15–22, 23–30, 31–37, 38–45, 46–53, 54–61, 62–69, 70–77, 78–85, 86–93, 94–101, 102–9, 110–17, 118–25, 126–33, 134–36, 137–44, 145–52, 153–60, 161–68, 169–73. Folios 54^v–55^r, 85^r, 135^v–136^r were blank.

Miniatures: carpet headpiece whose carpet is at this point a blank field of gold, and a *beta* composed of two snakes (7^v); Mark thinking (55^v); strip of blue vine-scroll ornament (56^r); Luke seated frontally, writing (85^v); strip of blue vine-scroll ornament (86^r); John in armchair turning to face the hand of God (136^v); carpet headpiece (137^r). A portrait of Matthew is clearly missing.

Inscriptions: One Ἰωαννης ἐλαχιστος has signed his name and written some other, illegible information in heavy black, monocondylic script at the end of the Johanne Gospel on 173^r. On 54^r, 85^r, and 135^v a hand, possibly the one that added the Synaxary, has added in pale brown ink verses on the Evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

Bibliography: Ch. Astruc and M.-L. Concasty, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs: Le supplément grec*, III (Paris, 1960), 27–28; Bordier, *Description des peintures* (*supra*, cat. 21), 226.

23. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément grec 1335*

New Testament and Psalter, with Odes of Miriam, Moses, Hannah, Habakkuk, Isaiah, Jonah, and the Three Hebrews, and the Magnificat of the Virgin.

ii + 334 + ii folios. Ruling type: Lake I 26 a.

20.5 × 15.8 cm. Justification 15.5 × 9.5 cm.

32–33 lines per page, 47 letters per line.

Black ink, with chapter headings, chapter and canon numbers, and initial letters of each verse in gold. Later Lectionary markings in vermilion.

Quire marks: In the lower, outer corner of the first page an initial with a diagonal and horizontal stroke above it, and two horizontal strokes and a vertical one below it, usually done in magenta but sometimes in black.

Quire composition: 1–4, 5–8, 9–16, 17–24, 25–32, 33–40, 41–42, 43, 44–51, 52–59, 60–65, 66–67, 68–75, 76–83, 84–91, 92–99, 100–3, 104–11, 112–19, 120–27, 128–29, 130–31, 132–39, 140–47, 148–55, 156–63, 164–67, 168–69, 170–77, 178–85, 186–87, 188–95, 196–203, 204–11, 212–19, 220–27, 228–35, 236–43, 244–51, 252–57, 258–59, 260, 261–68, 269–76, 277–80, 281–82, 283–90, 291–96, 297–304, 305–12, 313–20, 321–24, 325–26, 327–34. Folios 5^r–6^r, 7^v–8^r, 43^r, 66^r–67^r, 130^r–131^r, 168^r–169^r, 186^r–187^r, 257^v–258^r, 259^v–260^r, 281^r–282^r, 295^r–296^r, and 325^v–326^r are blank. A union after 103, carrying the miniature of St. John, is missing. Folios 6 and 7 and 258–59 are stiff and heavy, with a reddish tinge that distinguishes them from the rest of the leaves; they may once have been colored purple, like the similar leaves in British Library, Add. 37002 and Jerusalem, Taphou 47; the miniature of Moses in Chicago 965 is actually on a sheet of purple parchment.

Miniatures: Canon Tables (1^r–4^r); Moses receiving the Law (6^v); medallion bust of Emmanuel at the crux of a cross with Evangelist symbols in the quadrants and angels around his head (7^v); St. Matthew writing (8^v); carpet headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (9^v); St. Mark thinking (43^v); headpiece (44^r); St. Luke dipping his pen (67^v); headpiece (68^r); carpet headpiece with bust of Emmanuel (104^r); St. Luke standing (131^v); carpet headpiece with bust of the Pantocrator (132^r); St. James standing (169^v); half-length image of St. Peter (173^v); half-length image of St. John with half-open codex (179^v); St. Jude standing (184^v); St. Paul standing (187^v); David playing viol in landscape with two musicians (258^v); David watching Abishag pass in her carriage (259^r); David enthroned in an architectural setting (260^v); carpet headpiece with the standing Christ (261^r); Nathan rebuking David (282^v); Christ preaching to the Hebrews (296^v); David confronting Goliath (325^r); Moses leading the Hebrews to the Red Sea (326^v); Miriam dancing (327^r); Moses running (328^r); Hannah kneeling (329^v); Habakkuk kneeling (330^r); Isaiah kneeling (331^v); Jonah emerging from the whale (331^v); the three Hebrews

in prayer (323^r); the three Hebrews in the furnace (333^v); the Virgin in profile, orante (334^r). Some miniatures are flaked, revealing magenta under-drawings. A miniature of St. John is surely missing.

Script: A diminutive, variegated, angular, and distinctly elegant minuscule.

Inscriptions: A page now missing after folio 1^v contained an inscription recorded by Papadopoulos-Kerameus saying that the book belonged to the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross just outside Jerusalem. There are marginal glosses in Georgian in the margins of 158^v and 333^v.

Bibliography: Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter" (*supra*, cat. 1), 250–55; Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 288, 307, 309, 311, 315–23; Cutler, "The Spencer Psalter" (*supra*, cat. 21), 140; A. Grabar, "La précieuse croix de la Laure Sainte-Athanase au Mont-Athos," *CahArch*, 19 (1969), 119 note 42; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, cat. 2), 279, 333 note 26; R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966), 160; Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript" (*supra*, cat. 4), 155, 172–74, 183; Astruc and Concasty, *Catalogue des manuscrits* (*supra*, cat. 22), 657–58; *Byzance et la France médiévale* (*supra*, cat. 21), no. 46; J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1957), 113, fig. 175; Willoughby, "Vagrant Folios" (*supra*, cat. 2), 127 note 8, 130; Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*; Willoughby, "Codex 2400" (*supra*, cat. 2), figs. 12, 13, 16, 61–63; Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (*supra*, cat. 2), III, 333–36, pls. II, XCI, XCVI, CXV, CXXXIV; H. Omont, *Nouvelles acquisitions du Département des manuscrits pendant les années 1911–1912* (Paris, 1913), 7–8; *idem*, "Un nouveau manuscrit grec" (*supra*, cat. 7), 514–17; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ἱεροσόλυμι-τικὴ βιβλιοθήκη (*supra*, cat. 5), III, 215–18.

24. Vatican, Barberinianus graecus 449

Tetraevangelion.

iii + 248 folios. Ruling type: Lake I 40 a.

23.4 × 17.1 cm. Justification 17 × 12 cm.

23 lines per page, 29 letters per line.

Black ink, with magenta inscriptions at the close of each Gospel, the first three noting their Gospel's conclu-

sion and the final one giving the scribe's name and date. The initial letters and chapter numbers are gold.

Quire marks: In the top, outer corner of the first page an initial with a horizontal stroke over it.

Quire composition: 1–2, 3–7, 8–15, 16–23, 24–31, 32–39, 40–47, 48–55, 56–63, 64–69, 70–76, 77–84, 85–92, 93–100, 101–8, 109–14, 115–18, 119–26, 127–34, 135–42, 143–50, 151–58, 159–66, 167–74, 175–82, 183–87, 188–95, 196–203, 204–11, 212–18, 219–26, 227–34, 235–41, 242–46, 247–48. Folios 2^v, 6^v–7^r, and 247^r–248^v were originally blank.

Miniatures: Canon Tables (3^r–6^r); St. Matthew writing (7^v); carpet headpiece with busts of the Pantocrator and four sacred authors with scrolls (8^v); St. Mark thinking, in headpiece to his Gospel (76^r); St. Luke dipping his pen, in headpiece to his Gospel (119^r); St. John sitting and turning to view arc of Heaven behind him, in headpiece to his Gospel (188^r). The colors have flaked, revealing fluent magenta under-drawings.

Inscriptions: On 246^v at the close of the Johannine Gospel is a scribal colophon:

ἐτελειώθη(η) τὸ παρ(ον) ἱερ(όν) και ἅγιον τετραευ-
αγγέλιον

κατὰ μῆνα μαΐου, ιγ τοῦ Ϛχξᾶ ιν(δικτιῶνος) α̅ ·

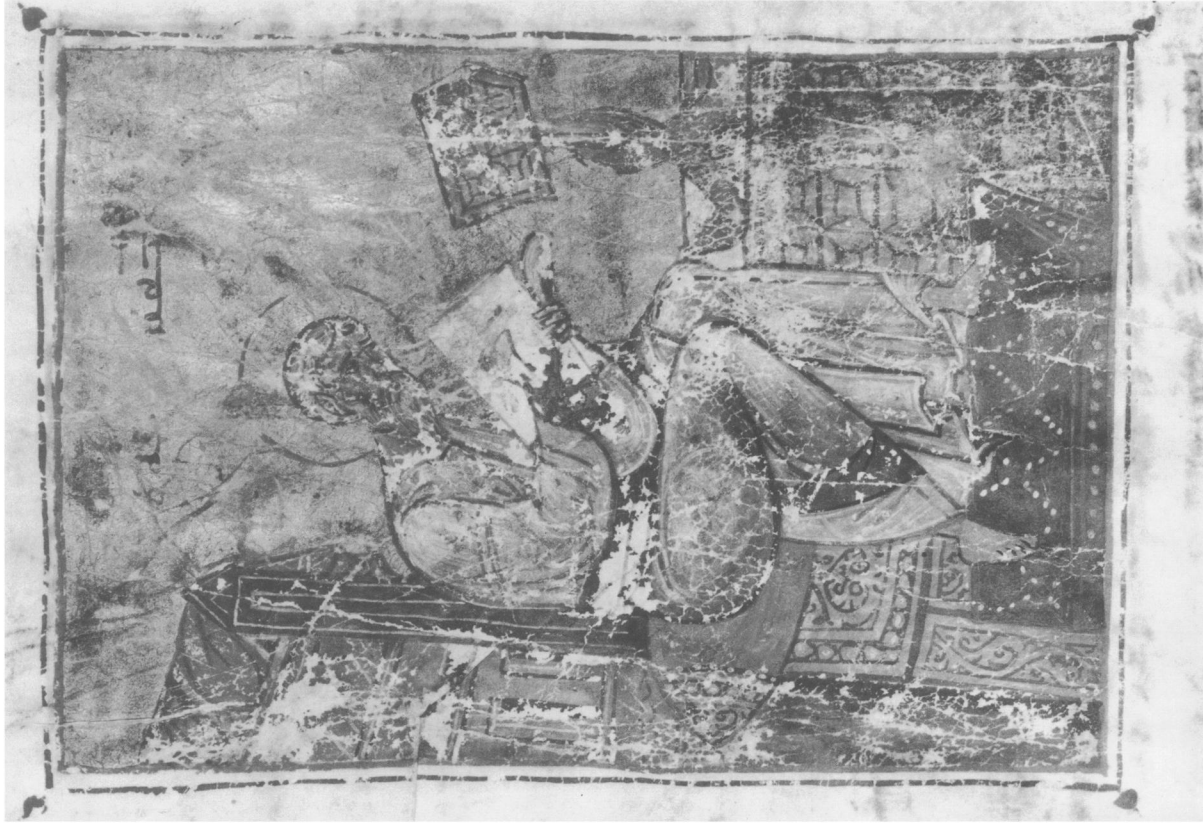
διὰ δὲ χειρὸς Μανουῆλ εὐτελοῦς ἱερέως Βουκελλά-
ρου

τοῦ Ἀγιοστεφανίτου·

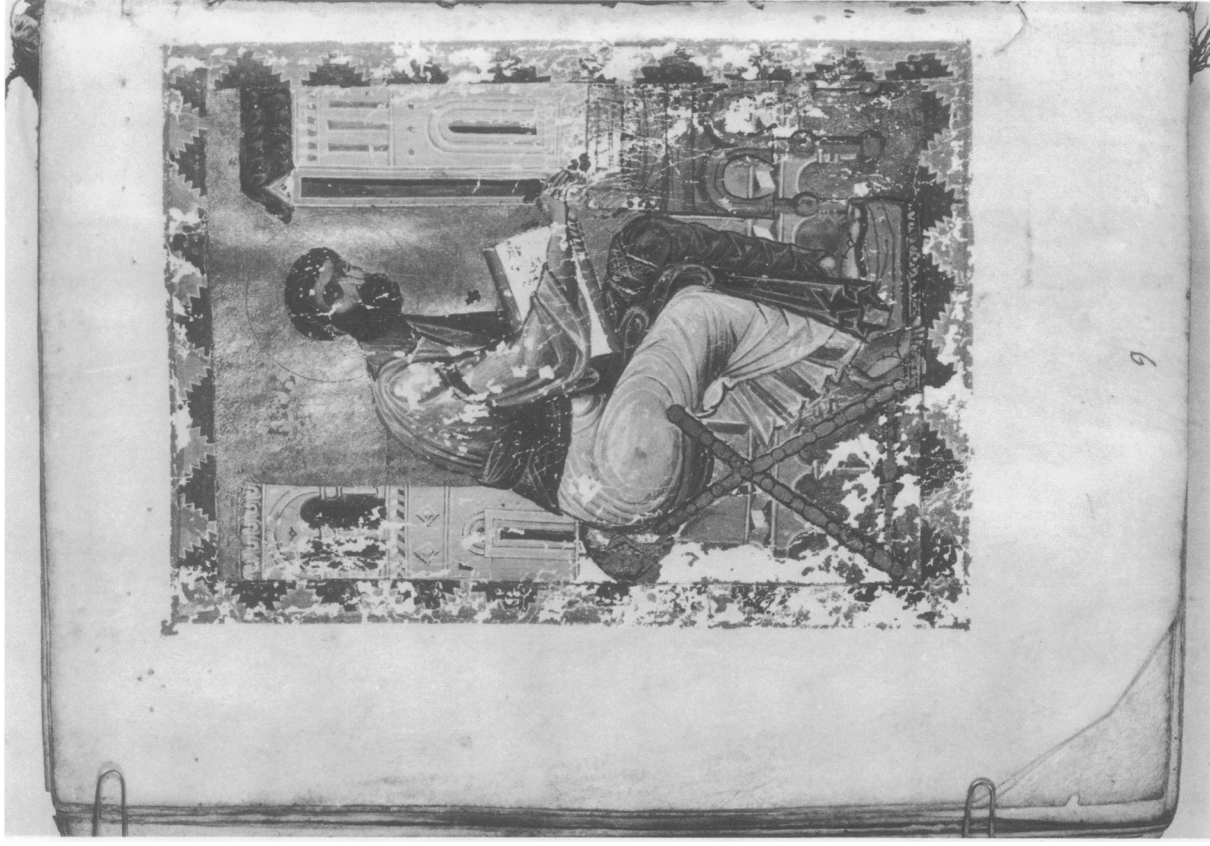
Extensive notes on 2^v and 247^r indicate that the book belonged in the fifteenth century to one Matthew Raoul Melikis, who lived, according to Laurent, near Corinth.

Bibliography: Cutler and Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3" (*supra*, cat. 1), 307, 314–15; P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1970), 152; Lazarev, *Storia* (*supra*, cat. 2), 254 note 51; V. Laurent, "Une famille turque au service de Byzance: Les Mélikès," *BZ*, 49 (1956), 354 note 2; K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts* (*supra*, cat. 11), VIII, MS 317, pl. 583; Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament" (*supra*, cat. 11), *passim*, and p. 72; Colwell and Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*; Goodspeed, Riddle, and Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (*supra*, cat. 2), *passim*.





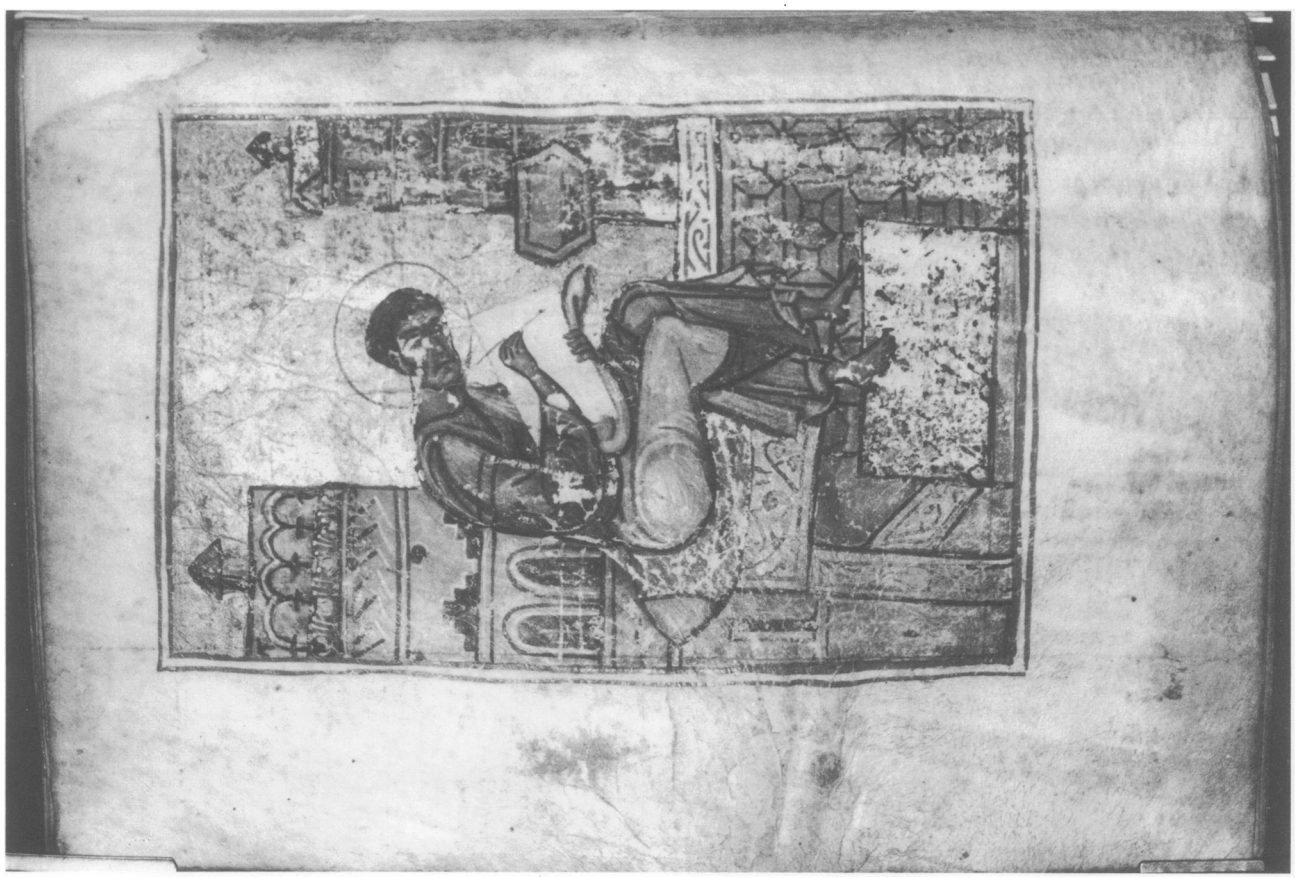
3. Bibl. Apost. Vat., Barb. gr. 449, fol. 7r, Matthew



4. Cologne, Ludwig Mus., Phillips 3887, fol. 77v, Mark



5. Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 31, fol. iv, Matthew



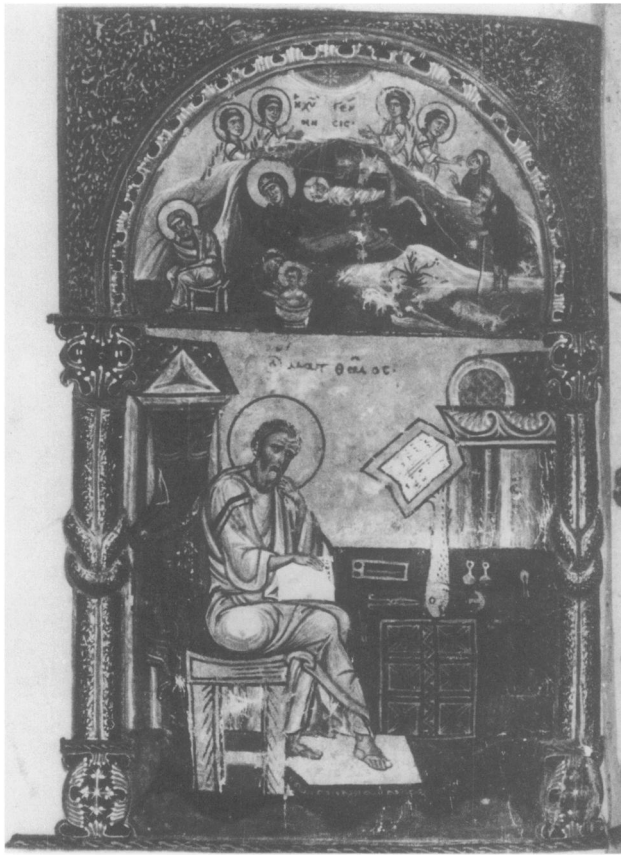
6. London, Brit. Lib., Add. 11836, fol. 60r, Luke



7. Bibl. Apost. Vat., Barb. gr. 449, fol. 119r, Luke



8. Chicago, Univ. Lib., 965, fol. 56r, Luke



9. Venice, Bibl. Marciana, gr. Z 540, fol. 14^v, Matthew



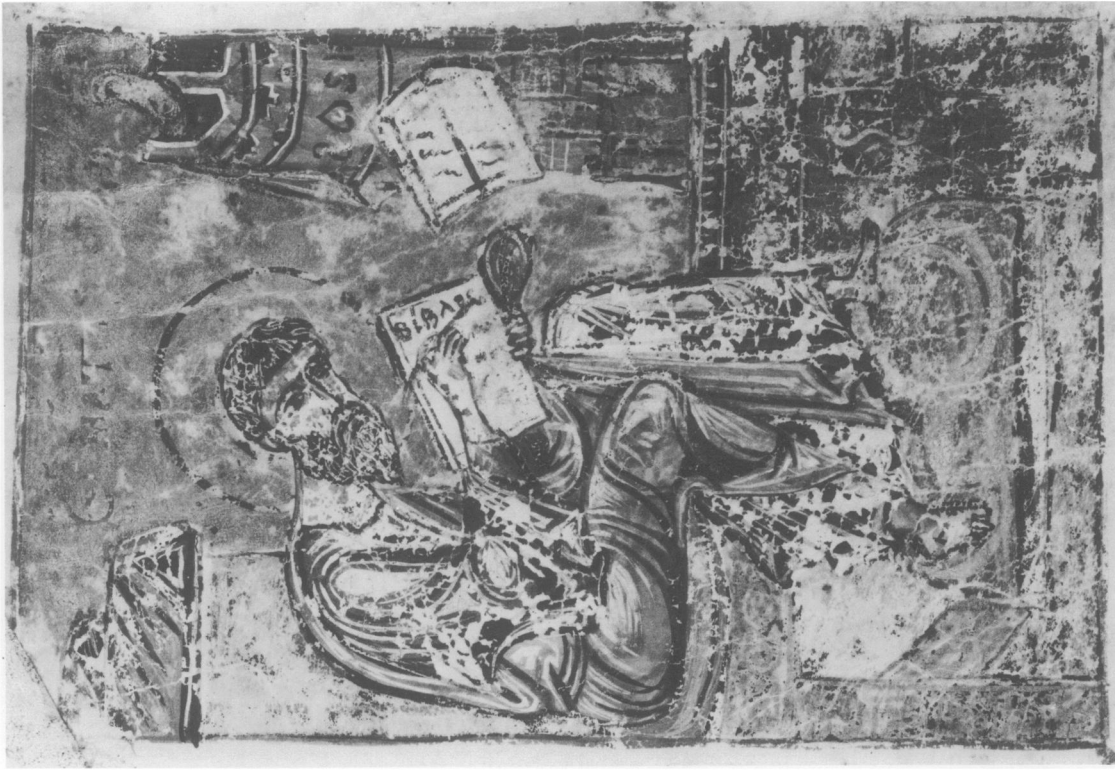
10. Mt. Athos, Laura A 66, fol. 1^v, Matthew



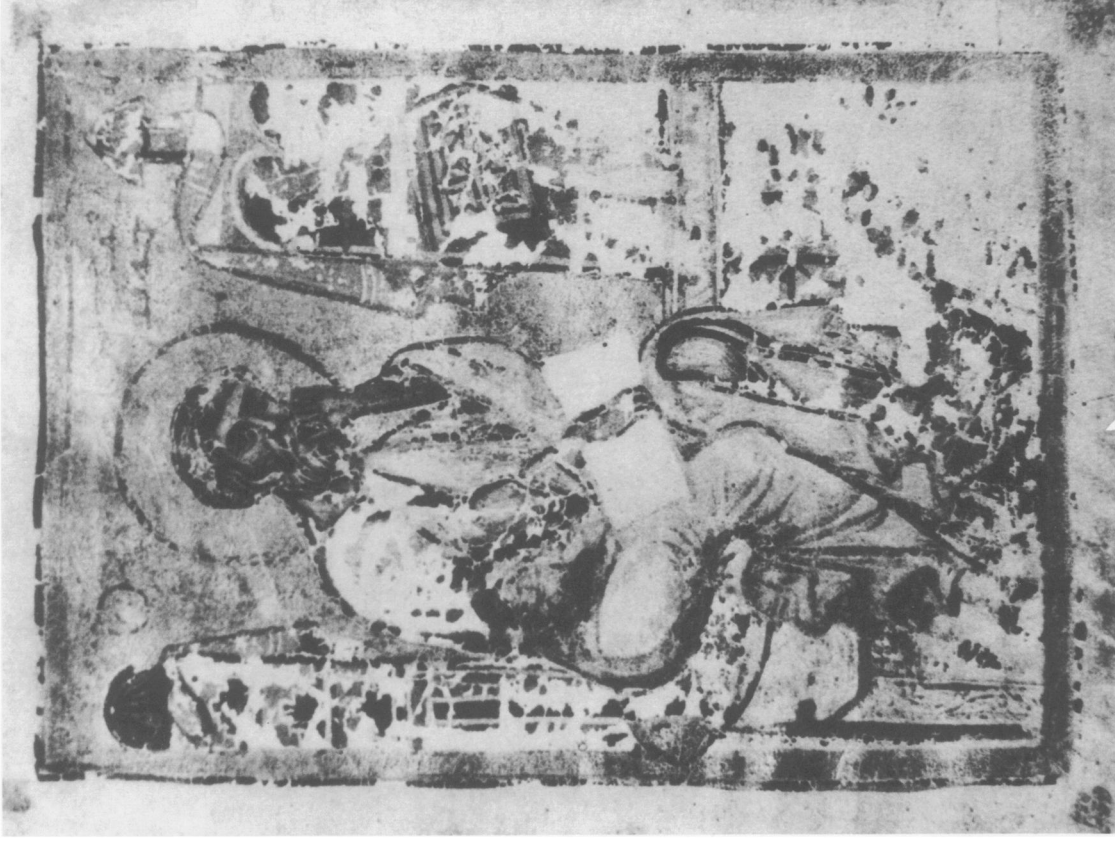
11. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 8^r, Matthew



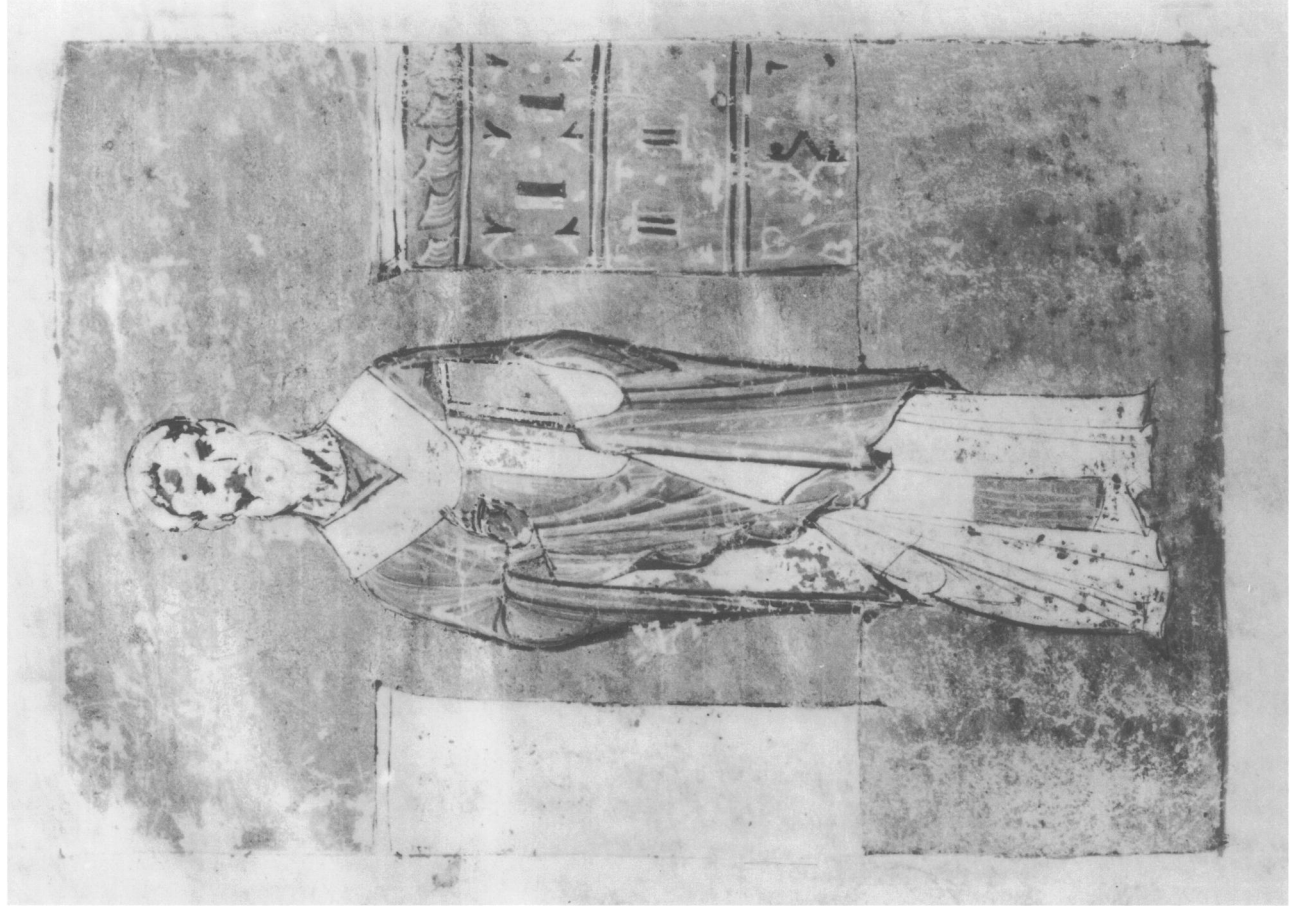
12. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi 939, fol. 36^v, Matthew



13. Palermo, Bibl. Naz., Deposito Museo, 4, fol. 3^v, Matthew



14. Leningrad, Saltykov-Shchedrin Pub. Lib., gr. 105, fol. 5^v, Matthew



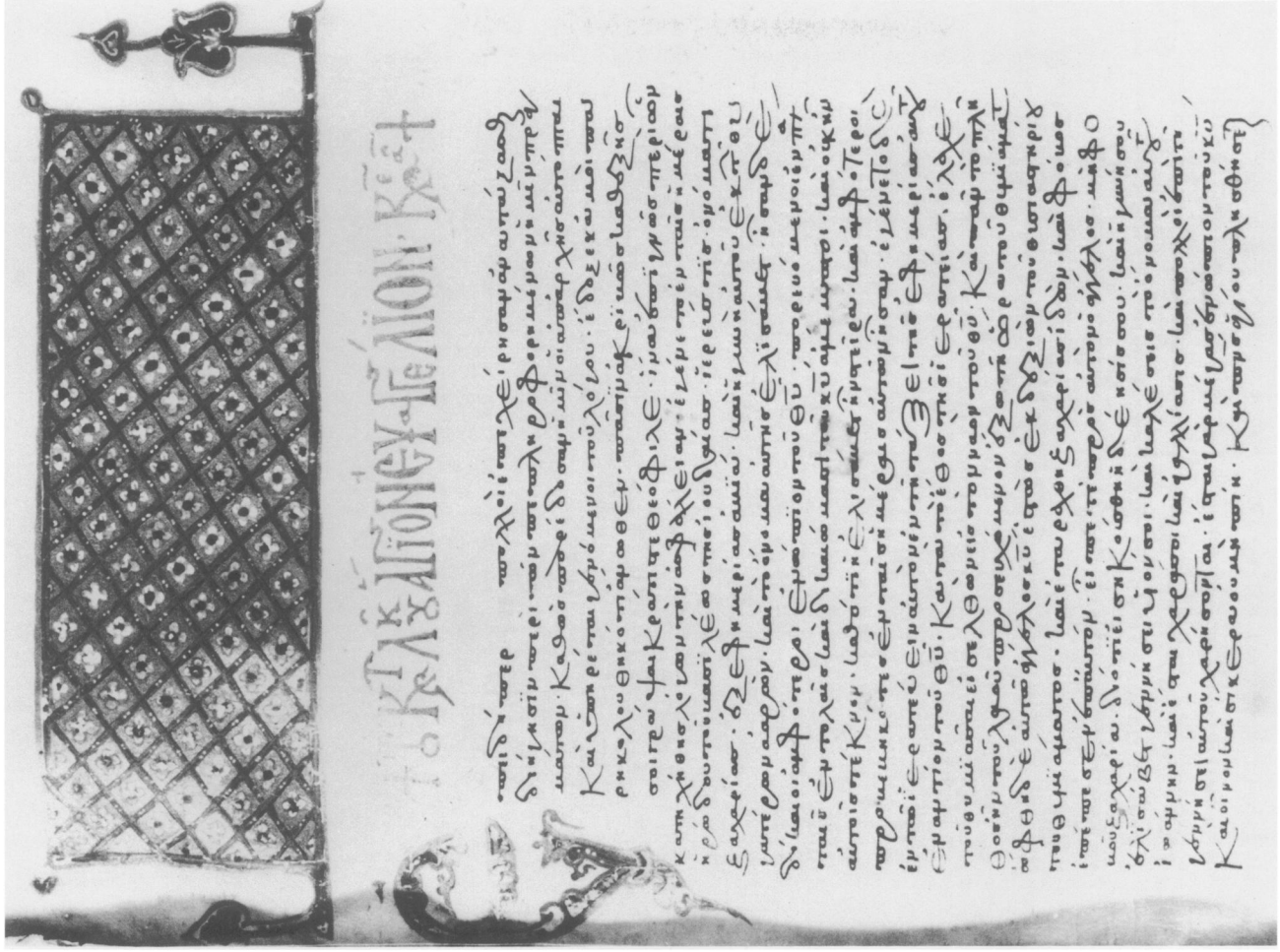
15. Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Roe 6, fol. 167^v, St. Cyprian



16. Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Roe 6, fol. 22^v, The Pentecost



17. Mt. Athos, Laura B 26, fol. 57v, Luke



18. Mt. Athos, Laura B 26, fol. 58r, Opening of Lucan Gospel



19. New York, H. P. Kraus, Gospel Book, fol. 3v, Matthew



20. New York, H. P. Kraus, Gospel Book, fol. 101v, Mark



21. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 43^v, Mark



22. Princeton, Univ. Lib., Garrett 3, fol. 78^v, Mark



23. New York, H. P. Kraus, Gospel Book,
fol. 4r, The Nativity



24. New York, H. P. Kraus, Gospel Book,
fol. 102r, The Baptism



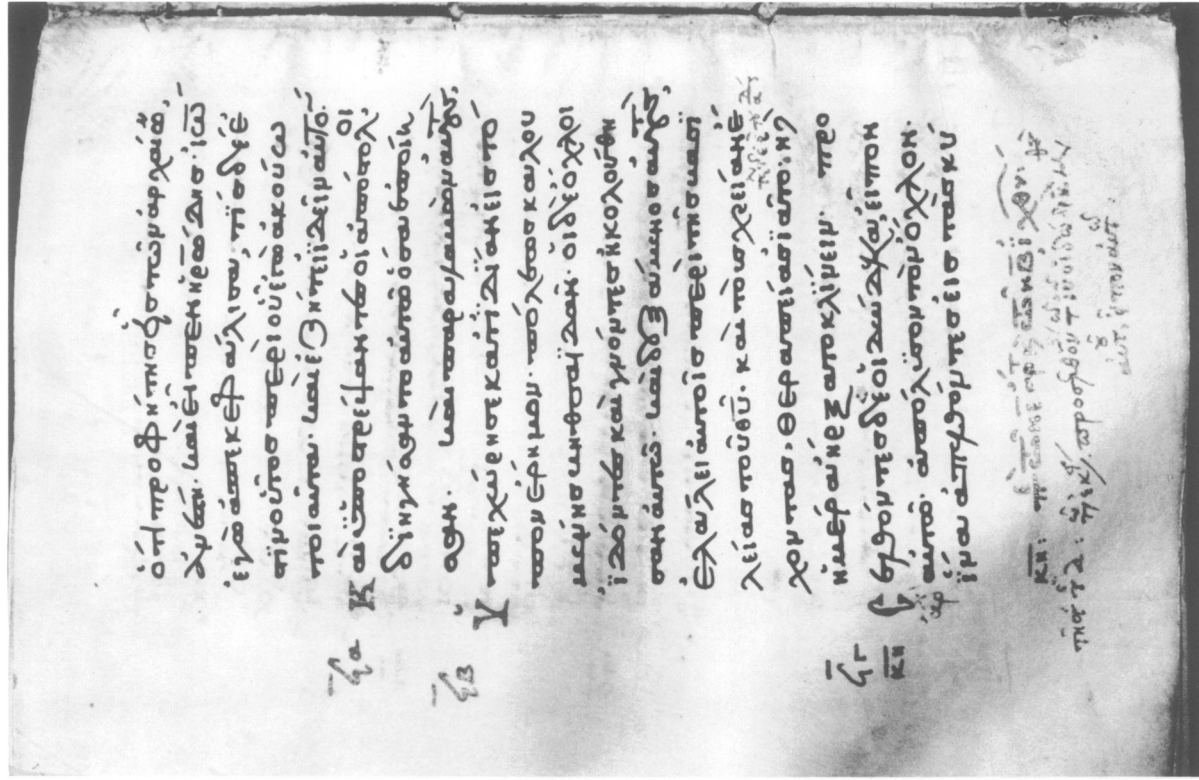
25. Chicago, Univ. Lib., 965, fol. 59r,
The Nativity



26. Princeton, Univ. Lib., Garrett 3,
fol. 5r, The Nativity

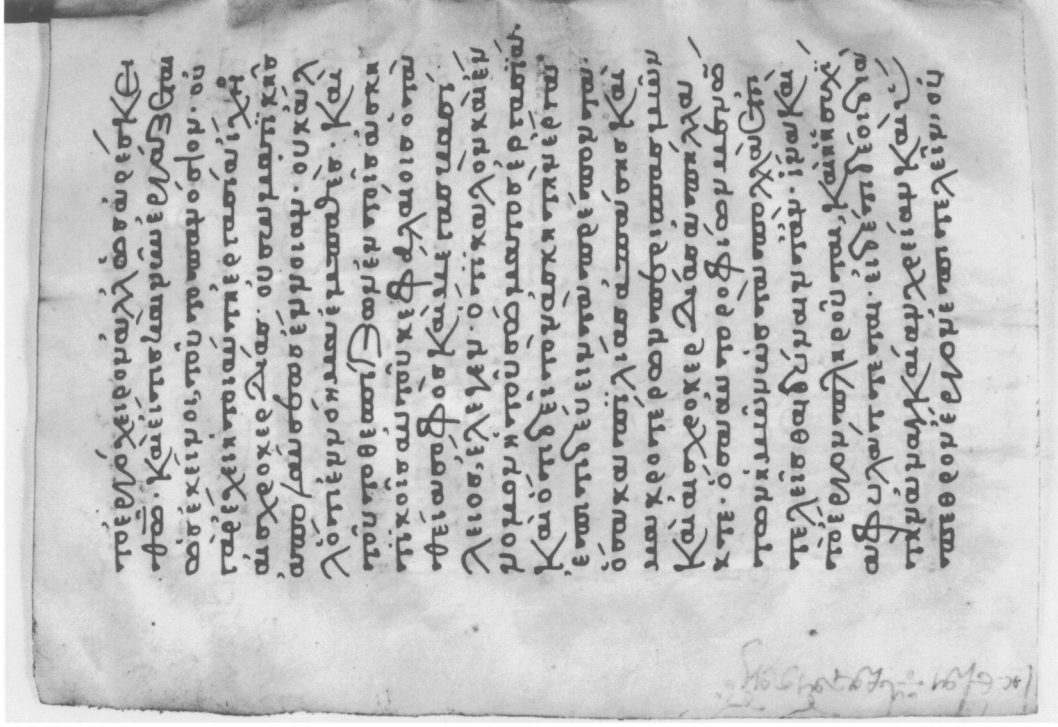
καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν· ὅτι τοὶ σθεναροὶ
μοις αὐτοὶ ἐκτεταμένοι κεκοιτεύσαν·
καὶ εἰπὸν αὐτοῖς· πορευθεῖν πρὸς τὸ
πρόκειτον ἀπομνηνέω· κηρύξαι τὸ εὐα-
γγέλιον πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς· ὁποῦ ᾤκησεν·
βαστασθε ἰσχυροὺς ἄνθρωποι· ὅδε ἀποστά-
σας καταλήθεισεν· σήμερον δὲ τῆς
ἡμέρας ταύτης παρεκλογυθήσεται· ἐπὶ
τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἐκκλησίουι.
τὸς σὺν λαλῶν σι καὶ μὲν ὁ φει-
δῶν· καὶ ἡ θυσία μου τὴν πίστιν· ὅ-
τι αὐτοὺς σὺ ἀνέβη· ἐπὶ ἁρμόσιν·
ἐσθῆθι σου σι, καὶ κληρώσθου
σιν· ὁ μὲν οὖν κλήσιν αὐτὸν λαλήσαν-
τοῖς, ἀνελήφθη ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον· καὶ
καὶ σὺ ἐκδοξίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ· ἐκείνοι
δὲ ἔξελθόντες, ἐκέρχοντο παντα-
χοῦ· τοῦ κληρώσαντος· καὶ τὸ
λόγον βεβαιώ-
τος· διὰ τῶν
παροχουθῶν
+ τελέων τῶν σημείων· θω· καὶ τοῦ
κατὰ μαρτυρίαν· - ἀπὸν ἄνθρωπον +

[illegible]



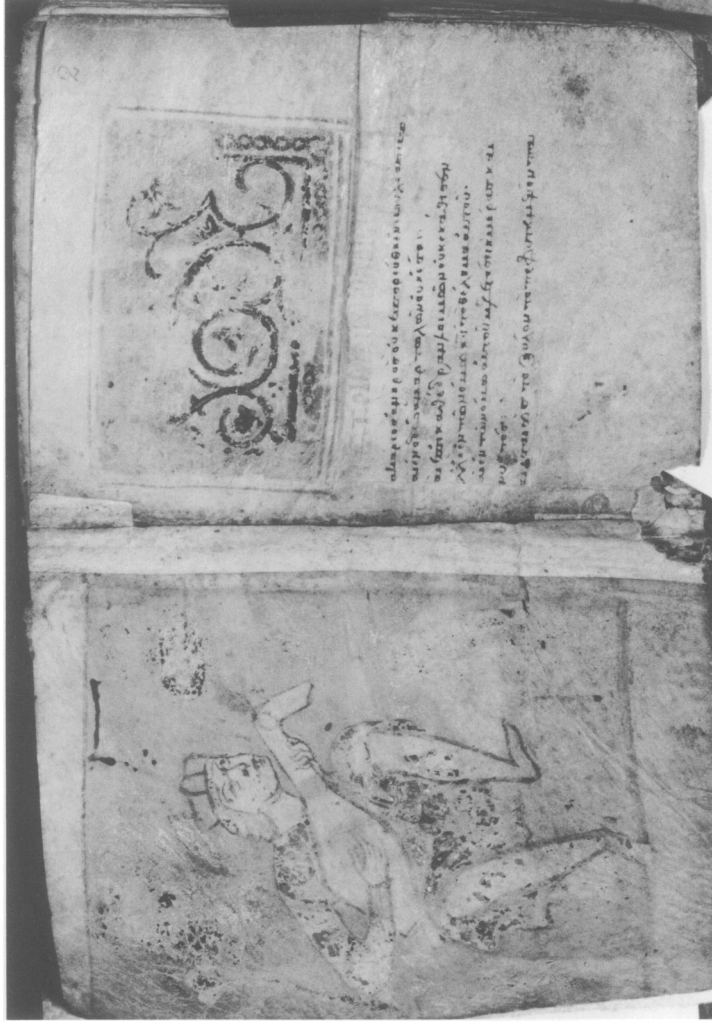


32. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1317, fol. 6^r, Script



31. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin gr. 287, fol. 104^v, Script

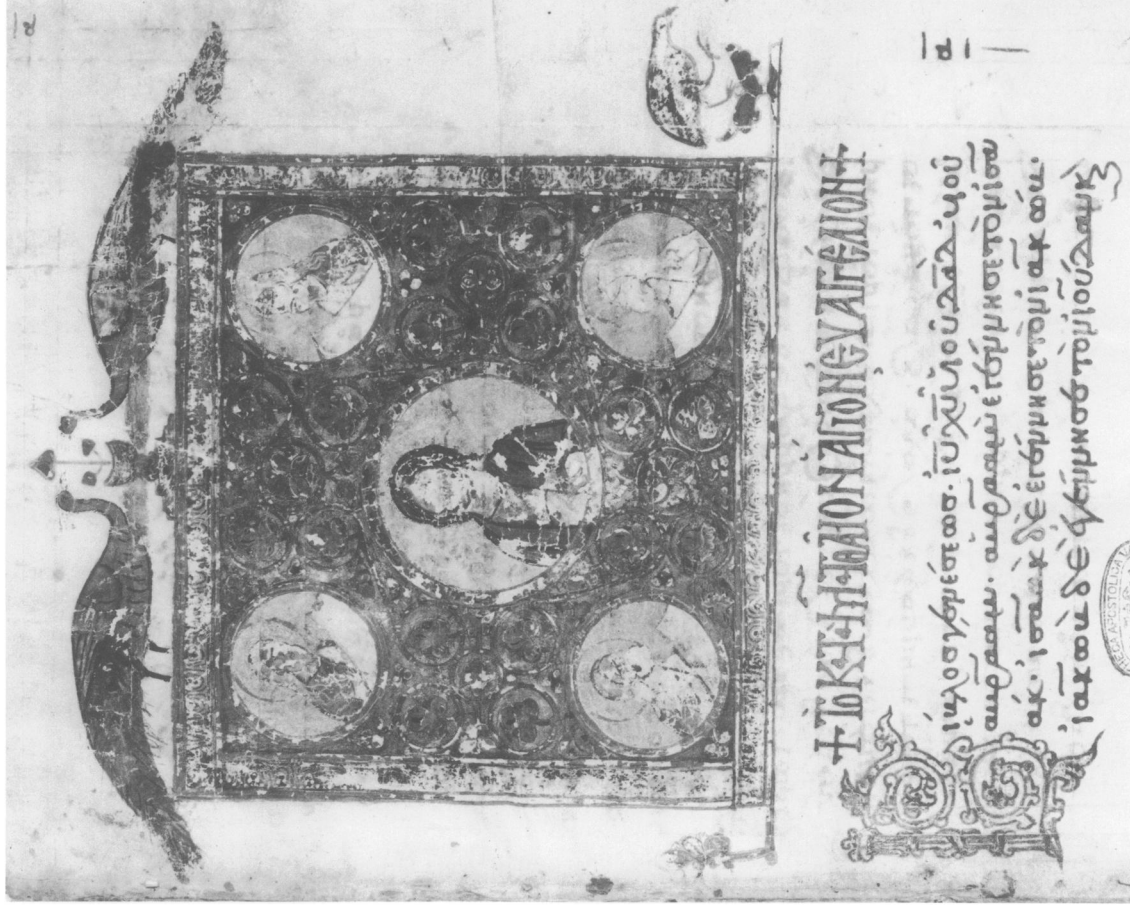




35. London, Brit. Lib., Add. 40753, fols. 1^v-2^r, David; Opening to Psalms



36. Mt. Athos, Panteleimon 29, fol. 168^r, Jude



37. Bibl. Apost. Vat., Barb. gr. 449, fol. 8r, Matthean Headpiece



38. Ann Arbor, Univ. Lib., 171, fol. 1r, Headpiece

The manuscript page displays a Canon Table with a decorative arch at the top. The arch is divided into three sections, each containing a small illustration of a rooster. Below the arch, the text is organized into columns, with various Greek letters and symbols used as headings and within the text. The text is written in a medieval Greek script.

39. Bibl. Apost. Vat., Barb., gr. 449, fol. 5v, Canon Table

The manuscript page displays a Canon Table with a decorative arch at the top. The arch is divided into three sections, each containing a small illustration of a rooster. Below the arch, the text is organized into columns, with various Greek letters and symbols used as headings and within the text. The text is written in a medieval Greek script.

40. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 3v, Canon Table



43. Bibl. Apost. Vat., Barb. gr. 320, fol. 1v,
Samuel Anointing David



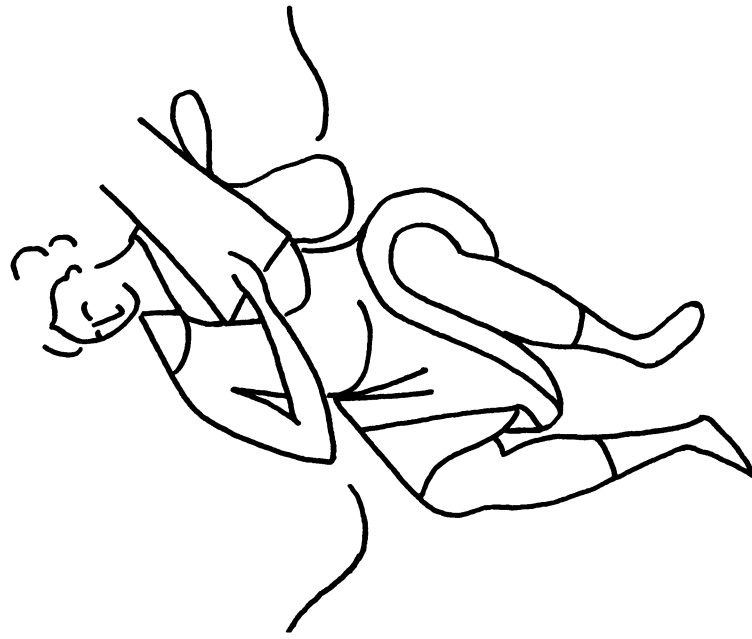
44. Perachorio, Church of the Apostles, St. John



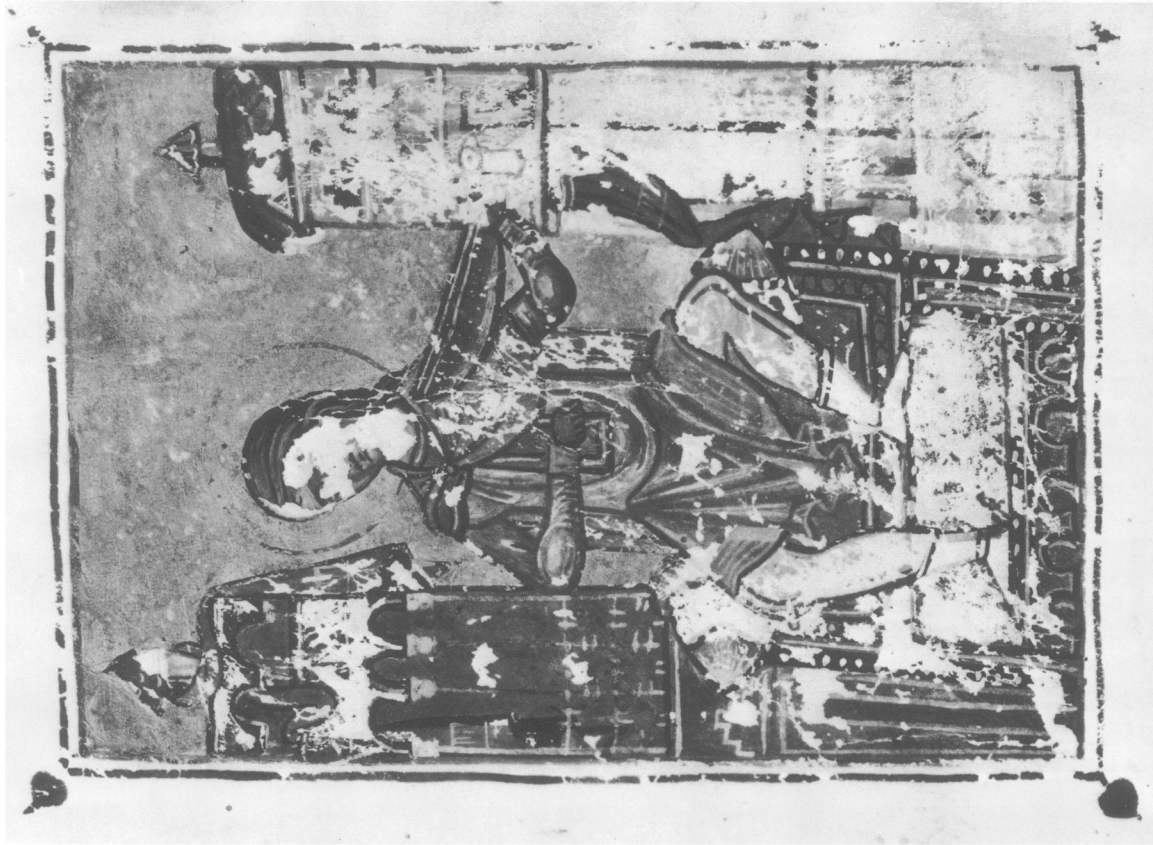
45. Cyprus, Enclustra of St. Neophytus. Angel of the Annunciation



46. Monreale, Cathedral. Angels of the Second Day of Creation



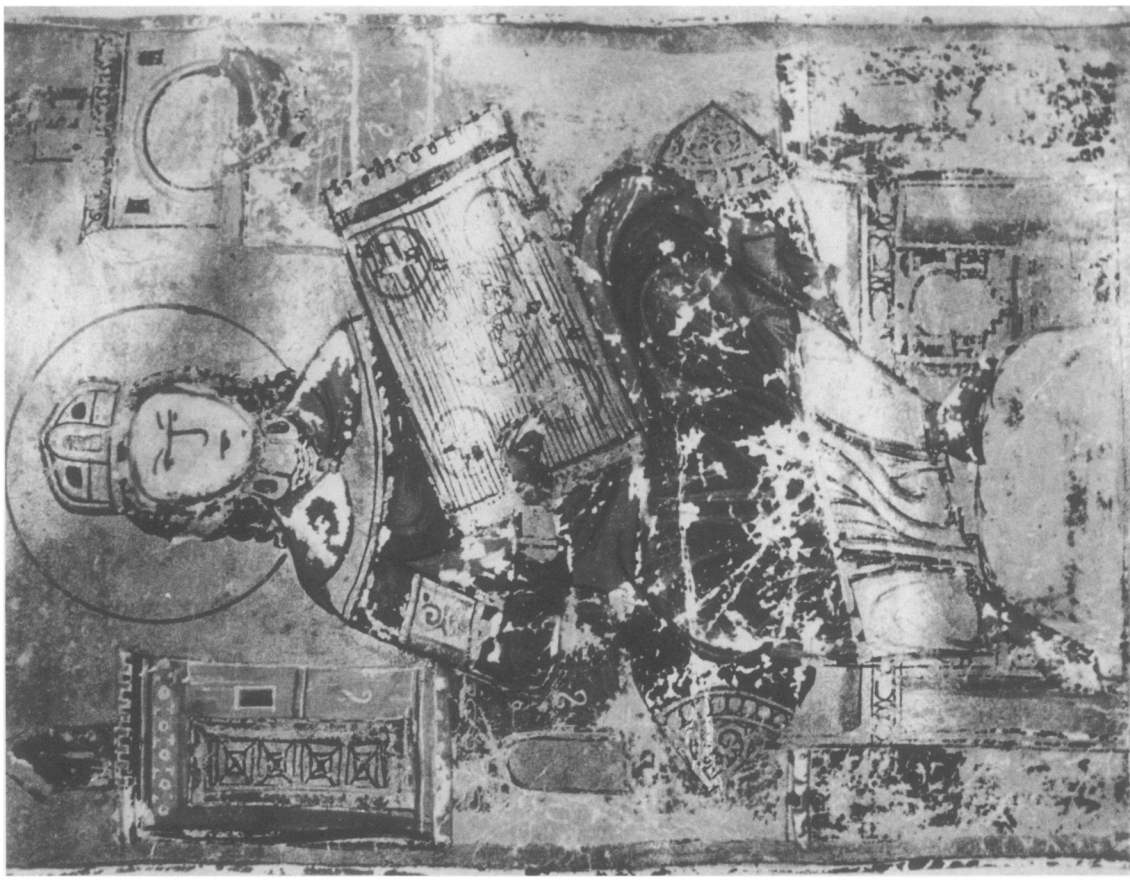
47. Chicago, Univ. Lib., 965, fol. 206^v,
David (after damaged page)



48. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 260^v, David



49. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 258^r, David with Musicians



50. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi 851, fol. 123^v, David



51. Mt. Athos, Laura B 26, fol. 237r,
Moses Addressing the Hebrews



52. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 296v,
Christ Addressing the Hebrews



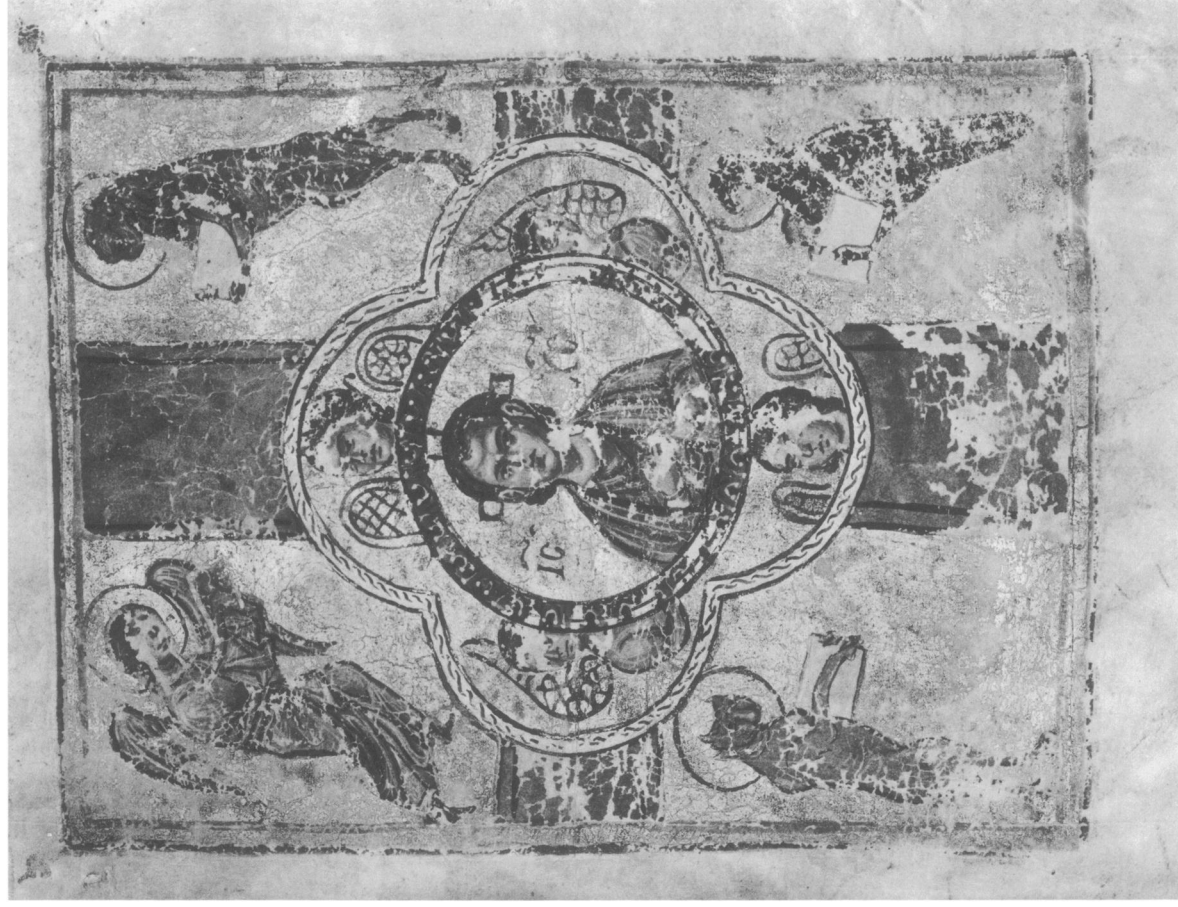
53. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 326v,
Moses Leading the Hebrews to the Red Sea



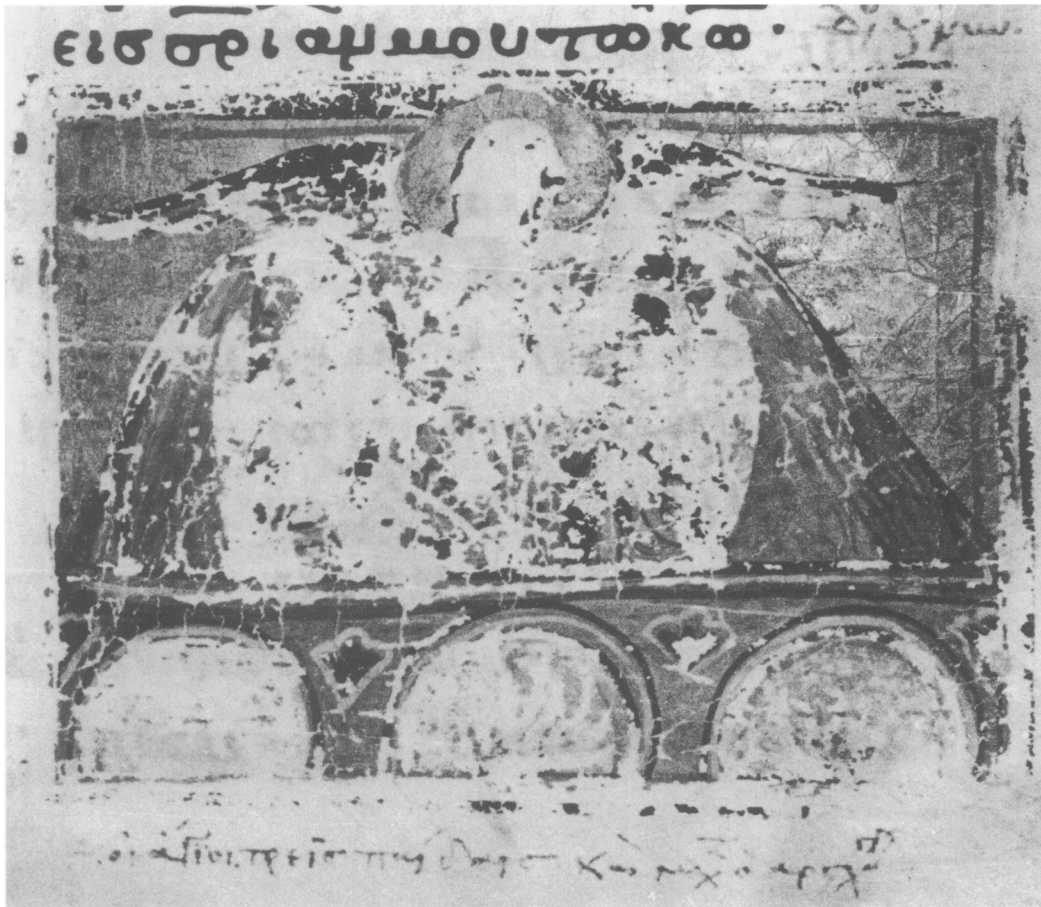
54. Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Laud gr. 30A, fol. 265v, Zacharias



55. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 6v, Moses Receiving the Law



56. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 7r, Christ and the Evangelist Symbols



57. Jerusalem, Gr. Orth. Patr., Taphou 55, fol. 254r, The Three Hebrews in the Furnace



58. Palermo, Bibl. Naz., Deposito Museo 4, fol. 291v, The Three Hebrews in the Furnace

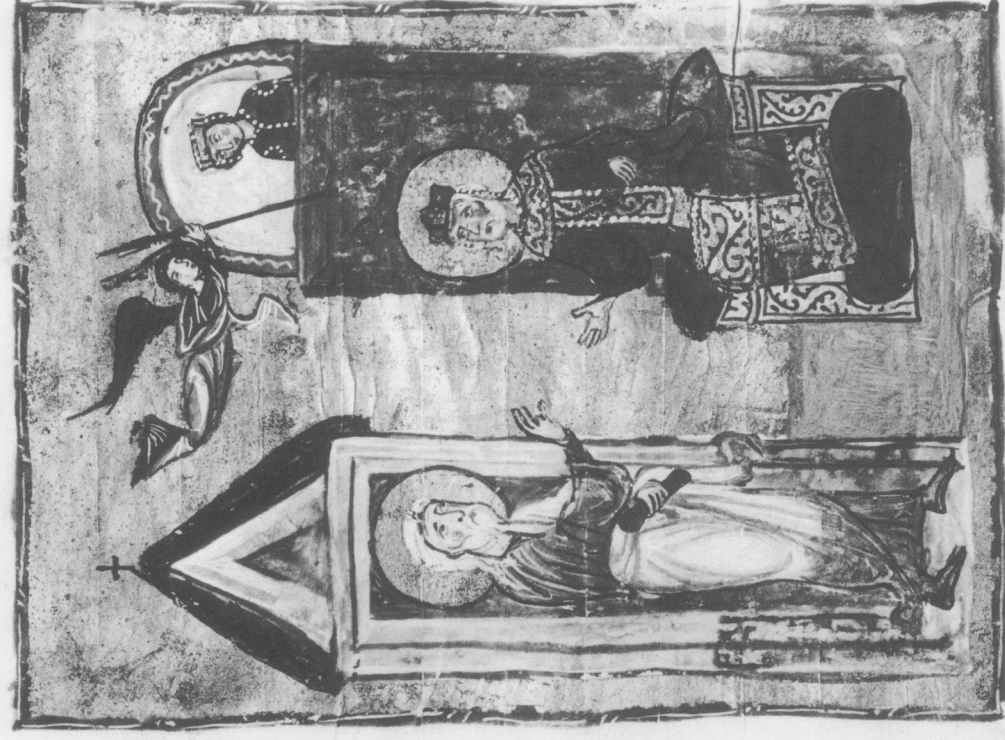
Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ βιβλία τοῦ αὐτοῦ δροσισμοῦ
 μετ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ· δὲι χθεὶς οὐκ ἔμελλεν αὐτοῦ παρὰ
 τὸ μέγα μοῖρα· καὶ ὡς παρέρχεται τοῦ ἐνέμενα
 ἔμελλεν· ἀλλ' ἔτι πάντες οἱ ἐν ἐνέμενα μοῖρα
 αὐτοῦ· ἐν τῷ πόντῳ δὲ ἡσυχμαίται παρφορέω·
 ἀκούσθαι τὰ δὲ οἱ πρὸς φίλοι αὐτοῦ τὰ
 κακὰ πάντων τὰ σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ· πο
 ρεῖται τὸ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἰδίαν χεῖρα
 προσαιτῶν·



τὸ λεγόμενον·
 ὁ αὐτὸς θνήσκει καὶ οἱ τρεῖς φίλοι αὐτοῦ
 οἱ παρὰ Ἀβελί· σὺν γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
 ὅτι·

59. Bibl. Apost. Vat., gr. 1231, fol. 88^v, Job's Three Friends

ἡ δὲ ζωὴ αὐτῶν τὸ σπῆμα·



60. New York, Public Lib., Spencer 1, fol. 126^r,
 David Rebuked by Nathan